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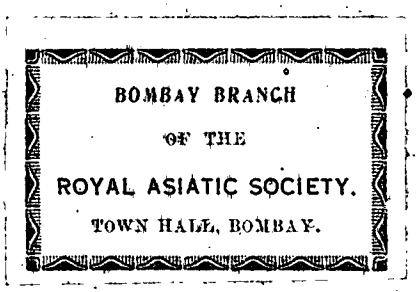


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THE ADMISSION OF A NOVICE TO THE VOWS OF THE ORDER OF THE TEMPLE.

M. & N. Hanhart, 16 Bridges.

64 Charlotte St. Rathbone Pl.

# THE

# Knights Templars,

BY

110892

## C. G. ADDISON ESQRE.

OF THE INNER TEMPLE.

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TO THE

MASTERS OF THE BENCH OF THE HONOURABLE SOCIETIES

OF THE

**Inner and Middle Temple,**

THE RESTORERS

OF

**The Ancient Church of the Knights Templars,**

THIS WORK

IS

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

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# INTRODUCTION.

"Go forth to battle and employ your substance and your persons for the advancement of God's religion. Verily, God loveth those who fight for his religion in battle array, as though they were a well-compacted building."

"O true believers, shall I show you a merchandize which will deliver you from a painful torment hereafter? Believe in God and his Apostle, and defend God's true religion."—KORAN, *chapter 56, entitled* BATTLE ARRAY.

"O Prophet, stir up the faithful to war: If twenty of you persevere with constancy they shall overcome two hundred, and if there be one hundred of you they shall overcome one thousand of those who believe not."—*Chapter* 8, *entitled* THE SPOILS.

"Verily, if God pleased, he could take vengeance on the unbelievers without your assistance, but *he commandeth you to fight his battles* that he may prove the one of you by the other; and as to those who *fight in defence of* GOD's *true religion*, GOD will not suffer their works to perish."—KORAN, *chapter* 47, *entitled* WAR.

To be propagated by the sword was a vital principle of Mahommedanism. War against infidels for the establishment and extension of the faith was commanded by the Prophet, and the solemn injunction became hallowed and perpetuated by success.

A century after the death of Mahomet, the Moslems had extended their religion and their arms from India to the Atlantic Ocean; they had subdued and converted, by the power of the sword, Persia and Egypt, and all the north of Africa, from the mouth of the Nile to the extreme western boundary of that vast continent; they overran

Spain, invaded France, and turning their footsteps towards Italy they entered the kingdoms of Naples and Genoa, threatened Rome, and subjected the island of Sicily to the laws and the religion of the Prophet. But at the very period when they were about to plant the Koran in the very heart of Europe, and were advancing with rapid strides to universal dominion, intestine dissensions broke out amongst them which undermined their power and arrested their career of victory. Islamism then gradually waned, and Europe was released from the dread and danger of Saracen dominion.

But in the tenth century of the christian era, during the decline of the Mussulman power, when the Christians were driving back the rapid tide of Moslem conquest, a new race of people, most formidable from their exhaustless numbers and their valour, appeared as the patrons of Mahommedanism, and the propagators of the Koran. These were the ferocious and barbarous Turcomans or Turks, wild pastoral tribes of shepherds and hunters, who descended from the frozen plains to the north of the Caspian, conquered Persia, embraced the religion and the law of Mahomet, and became united under the standard of the Prophet into one great and powerful nation. To the hardy courage and enterprising activity of their native character they added the zeal and fanaticism of new proselytes; and they came forth the tremendous and irresistible champions of Islam, when the Saracen power in Asia and in Europe was gradually crumbling to pieces. They overran the greater part of the Asiatic continent, destroyed the churches of the Christians and the temples of the Pagans, and slaughtered or branded with an iron horse-shoe all who refused to embrace the Koran. Sultan Soliman conquered Cæle-Syria, Cilicia, Isauria, Pamphylia, Licia, Pisidia, Ly-

caonia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Bithynia, and all the Asiatic provinces of the christian empire of Constantinople, and he was rewarded for his zeal and success in the propagation by the sword of the Moslem faith, with the surname of *Gazi*, or "Holy Champion."

The countless hordes of the Turcomans having subjugated all the christian provinces of Asia, crowned (A. D. 1084) in warlike array the Asiatic shore of the Hellespont in front of Constantinople. The Turkish ignorance of navigation for a while secured the safety of the imperial city, but when the infidels had collected together a fleet of two hundred vessels, the terrified emperor Alexius sent urgent letters to the Pope and the christian princes of Europe, exhorting them to assist him and their common Christianity in the perilous crisis. The danger was, indeed, great and imminent. Europe was divided and subdivided amongst petty kings and independent chieftains, who were animated by mutual jealousies and ancient rivalries; their common religion formed no common bond of union amongst them, and their military strength was exhausted in perpetual warfare with each other.

With intestine divisions on the one side, and on the other the decisive predominance of a hostile and mighty power aroused to a daring pitch of fanaticism by a dogmatical and haughty creed fundamentally opposed to the mild tenets of the Gospel, the utter downfall and extinction of Christianity in the West, as well as in the East, appeared to be fast approaching. The Turcomans were the most formidable warriors of the age, and were animated with a zeal in behalf of Islam, and a hatred to Christianity, far surpassing that of the Arabs. They commanded the East from the Hellespont to the Indus, and their unity of purpose, their physical resources, and

the fanatical energy of their military population, seemed to place the empire of the world within their grasp. In less than thirty years they had subdued the kingdoms of Asia as far as Jerusalem and Constantinople; and the Greek empire, the great barrier of christian Europe on the side of Asia, tottered on the verge of destruction. But at the very period when the nations of Asia had been overthrown and crushed, and the western world was about to become the spoil of the Moslem sword, when the feeble and decaying eastern empire was incapable of maintaining Christianity against Islamism, and the myriads of Turkish horse were preparing to cross the Hellespont to extinguish the light of the gospel, and to wage a holy war in behalf of Islam in the heart of Europe, a spirit was suddenly and wonderfully infused into the nations of the West, which united the disjointed masses of the christian population, and bound them together in a holy league for the purpose of defending their religion, and arresting the career of Moslem conquest.

The preachings of Peter the hermit, and the exhortations of the Pope,* aroused Christendom from its slumbers; Europe was armed and precipitated upon Asia; the Turkish power was broken; the christian provinces of the Greek empire of Constantinople were

* The situation of Europe at this period is admirably portrayed by Gibbon—chapter 57, 58. At the great council of Placentia, the ambassadors from the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, were introduced to plead the distress of their sovereign and the danger of Constantinople, and the Pope founds his eloquent appeal to Christendom to arm in defence of the faith, upon the political necessity of resisting the progressive conquests of the Moslems. At the great council of Clermont, the Holy Pontiff displayed to the assembled multitudes the threatening progress of the Turks in the East, and of the Saracens in the south of Europe, and exhorts his hearers to undertake the expedition into Asia that the Christians might exist in peace in the regions of the West. *William of Malmesbury* apud scriptores post. *Bedam*, p. 131.

recovered from the grasp of the infidels; and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was reared upon the ruins of the Turkish empire of sultan Soliman.

The monastic and military order of the Temple was then called into existence for the purpose of checking the power of the infidels, and fighting the battles of Christendom in the plains of Asia. "Suggested by fanaticism," as Gibbon observes, but guided by an intelligent and far reaching policy, it became the firmest bulwark of Christianity in the East, and mainly contributed to preserve Europe from Turkish desolation, and probably from Turkish conquest. For if we regard the character and career of the Moslems, and more particularly of the Turcoman tribes, their religious principles, their daring fanaticism, their physical resources, and their actual achievements, we must feel convinced that if their military population had not been engaged and consumed in the plains of Palestine, the Turkish crescent would have been seen towering in the heart of Europe in the twelfth century, as it did in the sixteenth, without meeting with that augmented power and capability of resistance which the national improvements of four centuries had by that time provided.

The valour and exploits of the Knights Templars, as the champions of the christian faith, their sorrows and misfortunes, and the varied incidents and events which mark their chequered career, impart to their history a lively interest and a strong tinge of romance.

I have been accused of writing a flattering and partial account of the order, and some surprise has been expressed "to see the Knights Templars finding not merely an apologist, but an enthu-

siastic champion in modern times." The Templars have unfortunately still to contend with a load of prejudice and much groundless calumny. I have endeavoured to write a fair and impartial history of the order, and have diligently sought after original sources of information, not suppressing anything that I believe to be *true*.

Some grave but improbable charges are certainly brought against the fraternity by monks and priests who lived and wrote in Europe concerning events in the Holy Land, and who regarded the vast privileges of the Templars with indignation and aversion. Matthew Paris tells us that they were leagued with the infidels, and fought pitched battles with the rival order of Saint John; but as cotemporary historians of Palestine, who describe the exploits of the Templars, and were eye-witnesses of their career, make no mention of such occurrences, and as no allusion is made to them in the letters of the Pope addressed to the Grand Master of the order of Saint John shortly after the date of these pretended battles, I have omitted all mention of them, not from partiality to the Templars, but because I feel convinced, after a careful examination of the best authorities, that they never did take place.

At this distant day, when the scenes in which the Templars acted are changed, and the deep religious fervour and warm fresh feelings of bygone times have given way to a cold and calculating philosophy, we may doubt the sincerity of the military friars, exclaim against their credulity, and deride their zeal; but when we call to mind the hardships and fatigues, the dangers, sufferings, and death, to which they voluntarily devoted themselves in a far distant land, the sacrifice of personal comforts, of the ties of kindred, and of all

the endearments of domestic life, which they made without any prospect of worldly gain or temporal advantage, for objects which they believed to be just, and noble, and righteous, we must ever rank the generous impulses by which they were actuated among the sublime emotions which can influence the human character in those periods when men feel rather than calculate, before knowledge has chilled the sensibility, or selfish indifference hardened the heart.

At the commencement of my labours I had intended merely to give a slight account of the Temple Church, now being restored to its pristine beauty and magnificence, and of the illustrious order of knights and monks by whom that ancient and interesting edifice was constructed; but I have been insensibly drawn on by the interest of the subject far to exceed the limits I had originally prescribed myself.

The ensuing history is enlarged by the introduction of more than two hundred and fifty pages of fresh matter. Many interesting subjects of information connected with the order are still, however, omitted; but as I am quite unable to afford time for further researches into the romantic history of this interesting institution, I must submit the work, with all its faults and imperfections, to my readers, hoping for a continuance of their kind forbearance and indulgent consideration.

*Inner Temple,*
*May 3rd,* 1842.

THE

# KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.

## CHAPTER I.

Origin of the Templars—The pilgrimages to Jerusalem—The dangers to which pilgrims were exposed—The formation of the brotherhood of the poor fellow-soldiers of Jesus Christ to protect them—Their location in the Temple—A description of the Temple—Origin of the name Templars—Hugh de Payens chosen Master of the Temple—Is sent to Europe by King Baldwin—Is introduced to the Pope—The assembling of the Council of Troyes—The formation of a rule for the government of the Templars.

"Yet 'midst her towering fanes in ruin laid,
The pilgrim saint his murmuring vespers paid;
'Twas his to mount the tufted rocks, and rove
The chequer'd twilight of the olive grove;
'Twas his to bend beneath the sacred gloom,
And wear with many a kiss Messiah's tomb."

THE natural desire of visiting those holy spots which have been sanctified by the presence, and rendered memorable by the sufferings, of the Son of God, drew, during the early ages of Christianity, crowds of devout worshippers and pilgrims to Jerusalem. Among the most illustrious and enthusiastic of the many wanderers to the Holy City was the empress Helena, the mother of Constantine, who,

with the warm feelings of a recent conversion, visited in person every place and every object in Palestine associated with the memory of him who died for mankind on the blessed cross. With a holy zeal and a lively enthusiasm, she attempted to fix by unquestionable tradition the scene of each memorable event in the gospel narrative; and Christendom is indebted to her for the real or pretended discovery (about two hundred and ninety-eight years after the death of Christ) of the Holy Sepulchre. Over this sacred monument the empress and her son Constantine caused to be erected the magnificent church of the Resurrection, or, as it is now called, the church of the Holy Sepulchre; and they adorned all those places in the Holy Land which remind us most forcibly of the earthly existence and death of Jesus Christ, with magnificent churches and religious houses.

The example of this pious princess, and the wonderful and miraculous discoveries made by her of holy relics and objects of interest, gave a great stimulus to the pilgrimages to Jerusalem; and the gradual spread of Christianity throughout Europe caused these holy voyages continually to increase.

The conquest of Palestine by the Arabians, (A. D. 637,) stimulated rather than suppressed them; it added to the merit by increasing the danger and difficulty of the undertaking, whilst the enthusiasm which prompted the long and perilous journey was increased by the natural feelings of sorrow and indignation at the loss of the holy places, and the possession of them by the conquering infidels. Year after year, and century after century, hundreds and thousands of both sexes, of all ranks and every age, the monarch and the peasant, the noble and the beggar, flocked to the

shrines and the altars of Palestine. They visited, with pious affection, Bethlehem, where the Saviour first saw the light; they bathed in the waters of the river Jordan, wherein he was baptized, and wept and prayed upon Mount Calvary, where he was crucified. Like him they gazed from the summit of the Mount of Olives upon the hallowed towers of Zion, and viewed with delight the spots rendered memorable as the abode of prophets or patriarchs; renovating the fervor of their pious affections by a delicious intercourse with all the memorials of the past.

On the conquest of Jerusalem by the Arabians, the security of the christian population had been provided for in a solemn guarantee given under the hand and seal of the caliph Omar, to Sophronius the patriarch. One fourth of the entire city, with the church of the Resurrection, the Holy Sepulchre, and the great Latin convent, had been left in the hands of the Christians, and the pilgrims were permitted, on payment of a trifling tribute, freely to visit the various objects of their regard. When the sceptre was transferred from the family of the Abassides to the Fatimites, and the caliphs of Egypt obtained possession of Palestine, the same mild and tolerant government was continued, except during the reign of the madman Hakem, who, fancying himself a god, persecuted all who refused to bow the knee and worship him. He deprived the Christians of their churches, and forbad the public exercise of their religious worship; but his intolerant proceedings were stopped by a speedy repentance.

In the eleventh century, the zeal of pilgrimage had reached its height, and the caravans of pilgrims had become so numerous as to be styled *the armies of the Lord.* The old and the young,

women and children, flocked in crowds to Jerusalem, and in the year 1064 the Holy Sepulchre was visited by an enthusiastic band of seven thousand pilgrims, headed by the archbishop of Mentz, and the bishops of Utrecht, Bamberg, and Ratisbon.* The year following, however, Jerusalem was conquered by the wild Turcomans, three thousand of the citizens were barbarously massacred, and the hereditary command over the Holy City and territory was confided to the emir Ortok, the chief of a savage pastoral tribe.

Under the iron yoke of these fierce northern strangers, the Christians were fearfully oppressed; they were driven from their churches; divine worship was ridiculed and interrupted; and the patriarch of the Holy City was dragged by the hair of his head over the sacred pavement of the church of the Resurrection, and cast into a dungeon, to extort a ransom from the sympathy of his flock. The pilgrims who, through innumerable perils, had reached the gates of the Holy City, were plundered, imprisoned, and frequently massacred; an *aureus*, or piece of gold, was exacted as the price of admission to the holy sepulchre, and many, unable to pay the tax, were driven by the swords of the Turcomans from the very threshold of the object of all their hopes, the bourne of their long pilgrimage, and were compelled to retrace their weary steps in sorrow and anguish to their distant homes.† The melancholy intelligence of the profanation of the holy places, and of the oppression and cruelty of the Turcomans, aroused the

* Ingulphus, secretary to William the Conqueror, one of the number, states that he sallied forth from Normandy with *thirty* companions, all stout and well-appointed horsemen, and that they returned *twenty* miserable palmers, with the staff in their hand, and the wallet at their back.—*Baronius*, ad. ann. 1064, No. 43, 56.

† *Will. Tyr.*, lib. i, cap. 10, ed. 1564.

religious chivalry of Christendom; "a nerve was touched of exquisite feeling, and the sensation vibrated to the heart of Europe."

Then arose the wild enthusiasm of the crusades; men of all ranks, and even monks and priests, animated by the exhortations of the pope and the preachings of Peter the Hermit, flew to arms, and enthusiastically undertook "the pious and glorious enterprize" of rescuing the holy sepulchre of Christ from the foul abominations of the heathen.

When intelligence of the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders (A. D. 1099) had been conveyed to Europe, the zeal of pilgrimage blazed forth with increased fierceness: it had gathered intensity from the interval of its suppression by the wild Turcomans, and promiscuous crowds of both sexes, old men and children, virgins and matrons, thinking the road then open and the journey practicable, successively pressed forwards towards the Holy City, with the passionate desire of contemplating the original monuments of the Redemption.* The infidels had indeed been driven out of Jerusalem, but not out of Palestine. The lofty mountains bordering the sea-coast were infested by bold and warlike bands of fugitive Mussulmen, who maintained themselves in various impregnable castles and strongholds, from whence they issued forth upon the high-roads, cut off the communication between Jerusalem and the sea-ports, and revenged themselves for the loss of their habitations and property by the indiscriminate pillage of all travellers. The Bedouin horsemen, moreover, making rapid

* Omnibus mundi partibus divites et pauperes, juvenes et virgines, senes cum junioribus, loca sancta visitaturi Hierosolymam pergerent.—*Jac. de Vitriaco.* Hist. Hierosol. cap. lxv.

incursions from beyond the Jordan, frequently kept up a desultory and irregular warfare in the plains; and the pilgrims, consequently, whether they approached the Holy City by land or by sea, were alike exposed to almost daily hostility, to plunder, and to death.

To alleviate the dangers and distresses to which these pious enthusiasts were exposed, to guard the honour of the saintly virgins and matrons,* and to protect the gray hairs of the venerable palmer, nine noble knights, who had greatly distinguished themselves at the siege and capture of Jerusalem, formed a holy brotherhood in arms, and entered into a solemn compact to aid one another in clearing the highways of infidels, and of robbers, and in protecting the pilgrims through the passes and defiles of the mountains to the Holy City. Warmed with the religious and military fervour of the day, and animated by the sacredness of the cause to which they had devoted their swords, they called themselves the *Poor Fellow-soldiers of Jesus Christ.* They renounced the world and its pleasures, and in the holy church of the Resurrection, in the presence of the patriarch of Jerusalem, they embraced vows of perpetual chastity, obedience, and poverty, after the manner of monks.† Uniting in themselves the two most popular

* "To kiss the Holy monuments," says William of Tyre, "came sacred and chaste widows, forgetful of feminine fear, and the multiplicity of dangers that beset their path."—Lib. xviii. cap. 5.

† Quidam autem Deo amabiles et devoti milites, charitate ferventes, mundo renuntiantes, et Christi se servitio mancipantes, in manu Patriarchæ Hierosolymitani professione et voto solemni, sese astrinxerunt, ut a prædictis latronibus, et viris sanguinum, defenderent peregrinos, et stratas publicas custodirent, more canonicorum regularium in *obedientia et castitate et sine proprio* militaturi summo regi. *Jac. de Vitr. Hist. Hierosol. apud Gesta Dei per Francos*, cap. lxv. p. 1083.—*Will Tyr.* lib. xii. cap. 7. There were three kinds of poverty. The first

qualities of the age, devotion and valour, and exercising them in the most popular of all enterprises, the protection of the pilgrims and of the road to the holy sepulchre, they speedily acquired a vast reputation and a splendid renown.

At first, we are told, they had no church, and no particular place of abode, but in the year of our Lord 1118, (nineteen years after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders,) they had rendered such good and acceptable service to the Christians, that Baldwin the Second, king of Jerusalem, granted them a place of habitation within the sacred inclosure of the Temple on Mount Moriah, amid those holy and magnificent structures, partly erected by the christian Emperor Justinian, and partly built by the Caliph Omar, which were then exhibited by the monks and priests of Jerusalem, whose restless zeal led them to practise on the credulity of the pilgrims, and to multiply relics and all objects likely to be sacred in their eyes, as the *Temple of Solomon*, whence the Poor Fellow-soldiers of Jesus Christ came thenceforth to be known by the name of "*the Knighthood of the Temple of Solomon.*" *

A few remarks in elucidation of the name Templars, or Knights of the Temple, may not be altogether unacceptable.

By the Mussulmen, the site of the great Jewish temple on Mount Moriah has always been regarded with peculiar veneration. Mahomet, in the first year of the publication of the Koran, directed his

and strictest (*altissima*) admitted not of the possession of any description of property whatever. The second (*media*) forbade the possession of individual property, but sanctioned any amount of wealth when shared by a fraternity in common. The lowest was where a separate property in some few things was allowed, such as food and clothing, whilst everything else was shared in common. The second kind of poverty (media) was adopted by the Templars.

* *Pantaleon*, lib. iii. p. 82.

followers, when at prayer, to turn their faces towards it, and pilgrimages have constantly been made to the holy spot by devout Moslems. On the conquest of Jerusalem by the Arabians, it was the first care of the Caliph Omar to rebuild "the Temple of the Lord." Assisted by the principal chieftains of his army, the Commander of the Faithful undertook the pious office of clearing the ground with his own hands, and of tracing out the foundations of the magnificent mosque which now crowns with its dark and swelling dome the elevated summit of Mount Moriah.*

This great house of prayer, the most holy Mussulman Temple in the world after that of Mecca, is erected over the spot where "Solomon began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem on Mount Moriah, where the Lord appeared unto David his Father, in the place that David had prepared in the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite." It remains to this day in a state of perfect preservation, and is one of the finest specimens of Saracenic architecture in existence. It is entered by four spacious doorways, each door facing one of the cardinal points; the *Bab el D'jannat*, or gate of the garden, on the north; the *Bab el Kebla*, or gate of prayer, on the south; the *Bab ib'n el Daoud*, or the gate of the son of David, on the east; and the *Bab el Garbi*, on the west. By the Arabian geographers it is called *Beit Allah*, the house of God, also *Beit*

* *D'Herbelot Bib. Orient.* p. 270, 687, ed. 1697. William of Tyre, who lived at Jerusalem shortly after the conquest of the city by the Crusaders, tells us that the Caliph Omar required the Patriarch Sophronius to point out to him the site of the temple destroyed by Titus, which being done, the caliph immediately commenced the erection of a fresh temple thereon, "Quo postea infra modicum tempus juxta conceptum mentis suæ feliciter consummato, *quale hodie Hierosolymis esse dinoscitur*, multis et infinitis ditavit possessionibus."—*Will. Tyr.* lib. i. cap. 2.

*Almokaddas,* or *Beit Almaedes,* the holy house. From it Jerusalem derives its Arabic name, *el Kods,* the holy, *el Schereef,* the noble, and *el Mobarek,* the blessed; while the governors of the city, instead of the customary high-sounding titles of sovereignty and dominion, take the simple title of *Hami,* or protectors.

On the conquest of Jerusalem by the crusaders, the crescent was torn down from the summit of this great Mussulman Temple, and was replaced by an immense golden cross, and the edifice was then consecrated to the services of the christian religion, but retained its simple appellation of "The Temple of the Lord." William, Archbishop of Tyre and Chancellor of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, gives an interesting account of this famous edifice as it existed in his time, during the Latin dominion. He speaks of the splendid mosaic work, of the Arabic characters setting forth the name of the founder, and the cost of the undertaking, and of the famous rock under the centre of the dome, which is to this day shown by the Moslems as the spot whereon the destroying angel stood, "with his drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem."* This rock, he informs us, was left exposed and uncovered for the space of fifteen

* Erant porro in eodem Templi ædificio, intus et extra ex opere musaico, Arabici idiomatis literarum vetustissima monimenta, quibus et auctor, et impensarum quantitas, et quo tempore opus inceptum, quodque consummatum fuerit, evidenter declaratur. . . . . In hujus superioris arcæ medio Templum ædificatum est, forma quidem *octogonum* et laterum totidem, tectum habens sphericum plumbo artificiose coopertum. . . . Intus vero in medio Templi, infra interiorem columnarum ordinem *rupes* est, &c.—*Will. Tyr.* lib. i. cap. 2, lib. viii. cap. 3. In hoc loco, supra *rupem* quæ adhuc in eodem Templo consistit, dicitur stetisse et apparuisse David exterminator Angelus. . . . Templum Dominicum in tanta veneratione habent Saraceni, ut nullus eorum ipsum audeat aliquibus sordibus maculare; sed a remotis et longinquis regionibus, a temporibus Salomonis usque ad tempora præsentia, veniunt adorare.—*Jac. de Vitr. Hist. Hierosol.* cap. lxii. p. 1080.

years after the conquest of the holy city by the crusaders, but was, after that period, cased with a handsome altar of white marble, upon which the priests daily said mass.

To the south of this holy Mussulman temple, on the extreme edge of the summit of Mount Moriah, and resting against the modern walls of the town of Jerusalem, stands the venerable christian church of the Virgin, erected by the Emperor Justinian, whose stupendous foundations, remaining to this day, fully justify the astonishing description given of the building by Procopius. That writer informs us that in order to get a level surface for the erection of the edifice, it was necessary, on the east and south sides of the hill, to raise up a wall of masonry from the valley below, and to construct a vast foundation, partly composed of solid stone and partly of arches and pillars. The stones were of such magnitude, that each block required to be transported in a truck drawn by forty of the emperor's strongest oxen; and to admit of the passage of these trucks it was necessary to widen the roads leading to Jerusalem. The forests of Lebanon yielded their choicest cedars for the timbers of the roof, and a quarry of variegated marble, seasonably discovered in the adjoining mountains, furnished the edifice with superb marble columns.* The interior of this interesting structure, which still remains at Jerusalem, after a lapse of more than thirteen centuries, in an excellent state of preservation, is adorned with six rows of columns, from whence spring arches supporting the cedar beams and timbers of the roof; and at the end of the building is a round tower, surmounted by a dome. The vast stones, the walls of masonry, and the subterranean colonnade raised to support the

* *Procopius* de ædificiis Justiniani, lib. 5.

south-east angle of the platform whereon the church is erected, are truly wonderful, and may still be seen by penetrating through a small door, and descending several flights of steps at the south-east corner of the enclosure. Adjoining the sacred edifice, the emperor erected hospitals, or houses of refuge, for travellers, sick people, and mendicants of all nations; the foundations whereof, composed of handsome Roman masonry, are still visible on either side of the southern end of the building.

On the conquest of Jerusalem by the Moslems, this venerable church was converted into a mosque, and was called *D'jamé al Acsa*; it was enclosed, together with the great Mussulman Temple of the Lord erected by the Caliph Omar, within a large area by a high stone wall, which runs around the edge of the summit of Mount Moriah, and guards from the profane tread of the unbeliever the whole of that sacred ground whereon once stood the gorgeous temple of the wisest of kings.*

When the Holy City was taken by the crusaders, the *D'jamé al Acsa*, with the various buildings constructed around it, became the property of the kings of Jerusalem: and is denominated by William of Tyre "the palace," or "royal house to the south of the Temple of the Lord, vulgarly called *the Temple of Solomon*."† It was this

* Phocas believes the whole space around these buildings to be the area of the ancient temple. Ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ δαπέδῳ τοῦ περιώνυμου ναου ἐκείνου τοῦ Σολομῶντος θεωρουμενος. . . Ἐξωθεν δὲ του ναου ἐστι περιαύλιον μεγα λιθόστωτον τὸ παλαιὸν, ὡς οἶμαι, του μεγαλου ναου δάπεδον.—*Phocæ* descript. Terr. Sanc. cap. xiv. Colon. 1653.

† Quibus quoniam neque *ecclesia* erat, neque certum habebant domicilium, Rex in Palatio suo, quod secus Templum Domini ad *australem* habet partem, eis concessit habitaculum.—*Will. Tyr.* lib. xii. cap. 7. And in another place, speaking of the Temple of the Lord, he says, Ab *Austro* vero domum habet Regiam, quæ vulgari appellatione *Templum Salomonis* dicitur.—*Ib.* lib. viii. cap. 3.

edifice or temple on Mount Moriah which was appropriated to the poor fellow-soldiers of Jesus Christ, as they had no *church* and no particular place of abode, and from it they derived their name of Knights Templars.

James of Vitry, Bishop of Acre, who gives an interesting account of the holy places, thus speaks of the Temple of the Knights Templars. "There is, moreover, at Jerusalem, another Temple of immense spaciousness and extent, from which the brethren of the knighthood of the Temple derive their name of Templars, which is called the Temple of Solomon, perhaps to distinguish it from the one above described, which is specially called the Temple of the Lord."* He moreover informs us in his oriental history, that "in the Temple of the Lord there are an abbot and canons regular; and be it known that the one is the Temple of the *Lord*, and the other the Temple of the *Chivalry*. These are *clerks*, the others are *knights*."†

The canons of the Temple of the Lord conceded to the poor fellow-soldiers of Jesus Christ the large court extending between that building and the Temple of Solomon; the king, the patriarch, and the prelates of Jerusalem, and the barons of the Latin kingdom, assigned them various gifts and revenues for their maintenance and support,‡ and the order being now settled in a regular place of abode,

* Est præterea Hierosolymis Templum aliud immensæ quantitatis et amplitudinis, *a quo fratres militiæ Templi, Templarii nominantur*, quod Templum Salomonis nuncupatur, forsitan ad distinctionem alterius quod specialiter Templum Domini appellatur.—*Jac de Vitr.* cap. 62. Qui quoniam juxta Templum Domini, ut prædiximus, in Palatio regio mansionem habent, fratres militiæ Templi dicuntur.—*Will. Tyr.* lib. xii. cap. 7.

† In Templo Domini abbas est, et canonici regulares, et sciendum est quod aliud est Templum Domini, aliud Templum militiæ. Isti *clerici*, illi *milites*.—*Hist. Orient. Jac. de Vitr. apud Thesaur. Nov. Anecd. Marlene*, tom. iii. col. 277

‡ *Will. Tyr.* lib. xii. cap. 7.

the knights soon began to entertain more extended views, and to seek a larger theatre for the exercise of their holy profession.

Their first aim and object had been, as before mentioned, simply to protect the poor pilgrims, on their journey backwards and forwards, from the sea-coast to Jerusalem ;* but as the hostile tribes of Mussulmen, which everywhere surrounded the Latin kingdom, were gradually recovering from the stupifying terror into which they had been plunged by the successful and exterminating warfare of the first crusaders, and were assuming an aggressive and threatening attitude, it was determined that the holy warriors of the Temple should, in addition to the protection of pilgrims, make the defence of the christian kingdom of Jerusalem, of the eastern church, and of all the holy places, a part of their particular profession.

The two most distinguished members of the fraternity were Hugh de Payens and Geoffrey de St. Aldemar, or St. Omer, two valiant soldiers of the cross, who had fought with great credit and renown at the siege of Jerusalem. Hugh de Payens was chosen by the knights to be the superior of the new religious and military society, by the title of "The Master of the Temple ;" and he has, consequently, generally been called the founder of the order.

The name and reputation of the Knights *Templars* speedily spread throughout Europe, and various illustrious pilgrims from the far west aspired to become members of the holy fraternity. Among these was Fulk, Count of Anjou, who joined the society as a married brother, (A.D. 1120,) and annually remitted the order thirty pounds

* Prima autem eorum professio, quodque eis a domino Patriarcha et reliquis episcopis in remissionem peccatorum injunctum est, ut vias et itinera, ad salutem perigrinorum contra latronum et incursantium insidias, pro viribus conservarent.—*Will. Tyr.* lib. xii. cap. 7.

of silver. Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, foreseeing that great advantages would accrue to the Latin kingdom by the increase of the power and numbers of these holy warriors, exerted himself to extend the order throughout all Christendom, so that he might, by means of so politic an institution, keep alive the holy enthusiasm of the west, and draw a constant succour from the bold and warlike races of Europe for the support of his christian throne and kingdom.

St. Bernard, the holy abbot of Clairvaux, had been a great admirer of the Templars. He wrote a letter to the Count of Champagne, on his entering the order, (A.D. 1123,) praising the act as one of eminent merit in the sight of God; and it was determined to enlist the all-powerful influence of this great ecclesiastic in favour of the fraternity. "By a vow of poverty and penance, by closing his eyes against the visible world, by the refusal of all ecclesiastical dignities, the Abbot of Clairvaux became the oracle of Europe and the founder of one hundred and sixty convents. Princes and pontiffs trembled at the freedom of his apostolical censures: France, England, and Milan, consulted and obeyed his judgment in a schism of the church; the debt was repaid by the gratitude of Innocent the Second; and his successor, Eugenius the Third, was the friend and disciple of the holy St. Bernard."*

To this learned and devout prelate two knights templars were despatched with the following letter:

"Baldwin, by the grace of the Lord JESUS CHRIST, king of Jerusalem, and Prince of Antioch, to the venerable Father Bernard, abbot of the monastery of Clairvaux, health and good wishes.

"The Brethren of the Temple, whom the Lord hath deigned to

* *Gibbon.*

raise up, and whom in a wonderful manner he preserves for the defence of this kingdom, desiring to obtain from the Holy See the confirmation of their institution, and a rule for their particular guidance, we have determined to send to you the two knights, Andrew and Gondemar, men as much distinguished by their military exploits as by the splendour of their birth, to obtain from the Pope the approbation of their order, and to dispose his holiness to send succour and subsidies against the enemies of the faith, reunited in their design to destroy us, and to invade our christian territories.

"Well knowing the weight of your mediation with God and his vicar upon earth, as well as with the princes and powers of Europe, we have thought fit to confide to you these two important matters, whose successful issue cannot be otherwise than most agreeable to ourselves. The statutes we ask of you should be ordered and arranged so as to be reconcilable with the tumult of the camp and the profession of arms; they must, in fact, be of such a nature as to obtain favour and popularity with the christian princes.

"Do you then so manage, that we may, through you, have the happiness of seeing this important affair brought to a successful issue, and address for us to heaven the incense of your prayers."*

Soon after the above letter had been despatched to St. Bernard,

* Balduinus, miseratione Jesu Christi, Rex Hierosolymorum, Princeps Antioquiæ, venerabili patri Bernardo, in Gallià degenti, totius reverentiæ digno, Abbati Monasterii Clarævalis, promptæ voluntatis obsequium. Fratres Templarii, quos Dominus ad defensionem hujus Provinciæ excitavit, et mirabili quodam modo conservavit, Apostolicam confirmationem obtinere, et certam vitæ normam habere desiderant: ideo mittimus ad vos Andream et Gundemarum bellicis operibus, et sanguinis stemmate claros, ut a Pontifice, ordinis sui approbationem obtineant, et animum ejus inclinent ad præstandum nobis subsidium et auxilium contra inimicos Fidei, qui omnes uno animo, parique consensu ad supplantandum, subvertendumque regnum nostrum insurgunt, &c. &c.—*Chrysost. Henriq. de Privilegiis Cisterciens*, p. 477.

Hugh de Payens himself proceeded to Rome, accompanied by Geoffrey de St. Aldemar, and four other brothers of the order, viz. Brother Payen de Montdidier, Brother Gorall, Brother Geoffrey Bisol, and Brother Archambauld de St. Amand. They were received with great honour and distinction by Pope Honorius, who warmly approved of the objects and designs of the holy fraternity. St. Bernard had, in the mean time, taken the affair greatly to heart; he negociated with the Pope, the legate, and the bishops of France, and obtained the convocation of a great ecclesiastical council at Troyes, (A.D. 1128,) which Hugh de Payens and his brethren were invited to attend. This council consisted of several archbishops, bishops, and abbots, among which last was St. Bernard himself. The rules to which the Templars had subjected themselves were there described by the Master, and to the holy Abbot of Clairvaux was confided the task of revising and correcting these rules, and of forming a code of statutes fit and proper for the governance of the great religious and military fraternity of the Temple.

## CHAPTER II.

### Regula Pauperum Commilitonum Christi et Templi Salomonis.*

The most curious parts of the rule displayed—The confirmation of the rule by the Pope—The visit of Hugh de Payens, the Master of the Temple, to England—His cordial reception—The foundation of the order in this country—Lands and money granted to the Templars—Their popularity in Europe—The rapid increase of their fraternity—St. Bernard takes up the pen in their behalf—He displays their valour and piety.

"Parmi les contradictions qui entrent dans le gouvernement de ce monde ce n'en est pas une petite que cette institution de *moines armés* qui font vœu de vivre à la fois en *anachorètes* et en *soldats*."—*Voltaire sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations.*

"THE RULE OF THE POOR FELLOW-SOLDIERS OF JESUS CHRIST AND OF THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON," arranged by St. Bernard, and sanctioned by the Holy Fathers of the Council of Troyes, for the government and regulation of the monastic and military society of the Temple, is principally of a religious character, and of an austere and gloomy cast. It is divided into seventy-two heads or chapters, and is preceded by a short prologue, addressed "to all who disdain to follow after their own wills, and desire with purity of mind to fight for the most high and true king," exhorting them to put on

* *Chron. Cisterc* *Albertus Miræus.* Brux. 1631. *Manricus ad ann.* 1128, cap. ii. *Act. Syn. Trec.* tom. x. edit. Labb.

the armour of obedience, and to associate themselves together with piety and humility for the defence of the holy catholic church; and to employ a pure diligence, and a steady perseverance in the exercise of their sacred profession, so that they might share in the happy destiny reserved for the holy warriors who had given up their lives for Christ.

The rule enjoins severe devotional exercises, self-mortification, fasting, and prayer, and a constant attendance at matins, vespers, and on all the services of the church, "that being refreshed and satisfied with heavenly food, instructed and stablished with heavenly precepts, after the consummation of the divine mysteries," none might be afraid of the *fight*, but be prepared for the *crown*. If unable to attend the regular service of God, the absent brother is for matins to say over thirteen pater-nosters, for every hour *seven*, and for vespers *nine*. When any templar draweth nigh unto death, the chaplains and clerk are to assemble and offer up a solemn mass for his soul: the surrounding brethren are to spend the night in prayer, and a hundred pater-nosters are to be repeated for the dead brother. "Moreover," say the holy Fathers, "we do strictly enjoin you, that with divine and most tender charity ye do daily bestow as much meat and drink as was given to that brother when alive, unto some poor man for forty days." The brethren are, on all occasions, to speak sparingly, and to wear a grave and serious deportment. They are to be constant in the exercise of charity and almsgiving, to have a watchful care over all sick brethren, and to support and sustain all old men. They are not to receive letters from their parents, relations, or friends, without the license of the Master, and all gifts are immediately to be taken to the latter, or to the treasurer, to be dis-

posed of as he may direct. They are, moreover, to receive no service or attendance from a woman, and are commanded, above all things, to shun *feminine kisses.*

There is much that is highly praiseworthy in this rule, and some extracts therefrom will be read with interest.

" VIII. In one common hall, or refectory, we will that you take meat together, where, if your wants cannot be made known by signs, ye are softly and privately to ask for what you want. If at any time the thing you require is not to be found, you must seek it with all gentleness, and with submission and reverence to the board, in remembrance of the words of the apostle, *Eat thy bread in silence,* and in emulation of the psalmist, who says, *I have set a watch upon my mouth;* that is, I have communed with myself that I may not offend, that is, with my tongue; that is, I have guarded my mouth, that I may not speak evil.

" IX. At dinner and at supper, let there be always some sacred reading. If we love the Lord, we ought anxiously to long for, and we ought to hear with most earnest attention, his wholesome words and precepts. . .

" X. Let a repast of flesh three times a week suffice you, excepting at Christmas, or Easter, or the feast of the blessed Mary, or of All Saints. . . . . On Sunday we think it clearly fitting and expedient that two messes of flesh should be served up to the knights and the chaplains. But let the rest, to wit, the esquires and retainers, remain contented with one, and be thankful therefor.

" XI. Two and two ought in general to eat together, that one may have an eye upon another. . . . . .

" XII. On the second and fourth days of the week, and upon Saturday, we think two or three dishes of pulse, or other vegetables, will be sufficient for all of you, and so we enjoin it to be observed; and whosoever cannot eat of the one may feed upon the other.

" XIII. But on the sixth-day (Friday) we recommend the Lenten food, in reverence of the Passion, to all of you, excepting such as be sick; and from the feast of All Saints until Easter, it must be eaten but once a day, unless it happen to be Christmas-day, or the feast of Saint Mary, or of the Apostles, when they may eat thereof twice; and so at other times, unless a general fast should take place.

" XIV. After dinner and supper, we peremptorily command thanks to be given to Christ, the great Provider of all things, with a humble heart, as it becomes you, in the church, if it be near at hand, and if it be not, in the place where food has been eaten. The fragments (the whole loaves being reserved) should be given with brotherly charity to the domestics, or to poor people. And so we order it.

" XV. Although the reward of poverty, which is the kingdom of heaven, be doubtless due unto the poor, yet we command you to give daily unto the almoner the tenth of your bread for distribution, a thing which the Christian religion assuredly recommends as regards the poor.

" XVI. When the sun leaveth the eastern region, and descends into the west, at the ringing of the bell, or other customary signal, ye must all go to *compline* (evening prayer;) but we wish you beforehand to take a general repast. But this repast we leave to the regulation and judgment of the Master, that when he pleaseth you may have water, and when he commandeth you may receive it kindly tempered with wine: but this must not be done too plentifully, but sparingly, because we see even wise men fall away through wine.

" XVII. The compline being ended, you must go to bed. After the brothers have once departed from the hall, it must not be permitted any one to speak in public, except it be upon urgent necessity. But whatever is spoken must be said in an under tone by the knight to his esquire. Perchance, however, in the interval between prayers and sleep, it may behove you, from urgent necessity, no opportunity having occurred during

the day, to speak on some military matter, or concerning the state of your house, with some portion of the brethren, or with the Master, or with him to whom the government of the house has been confided: this, then, we order to be done in conformity with that which hath been written: *In many words thou shalt not avoid sin;* and in another place, *Life and death are in the hands of the tongue.* In that discourse, therefore, we utterly prohibit scurrility and idle words moving unto laughter, and on going to bed, if any one among you hath uttered a foolish saying, we enjoin him, in all humility, and with purity of devotion, to repeat the Lord's Prayer.

"XVIII. We no not require the wearied soldiers to rise to matins, as it is plain the others must, but with the assent of the Master, or of him who hath been put in authority by the Master, they may take their rest; they must, nevertheless, sing thirteen appointed prayers, so that their minds be in unison with their voices, in accordance with that of the prophet: *Sing wisely unto the Lord,* and again, *I will sing unto thee in the sight of the angels.* This, however, should always be left to the judgment of the Master . . . . . .

"XX. . . . . To all the professed knights, both in winter and summer, we give, if they can be procured, white garments, that those who have cast behind them a dark life may know that they are to commend themselves to their Creator by a pure and white life. For what is whiteness but perfect chastity, and chastity is the security of the soul and the health of the body. And unless every knight shall continue chaste, he shall not come to perpetual rest, nor see God, as the apostle Paul witnesseth: *Follow after peace with all men, and chastity, without which no man shall see God.* . . . . . .

"XXI. . . . . Let all the esquires and retainers be clothed in black garments: but if such cannot be found, let them have what can be procured in the province where they live, so that they be of one colour, and such as is of a meaner character, viz. brown.

" XXII. It is granted to none to wear white habits, or to have white mantles, excepting the above-named knights of Christ.

" XXIII. We have decreed in common council, that no brother shall wear skins or cloaks, or anything serving as a covering for the body in the winter, even the cassock made of skins, except they be the *skins of lambs or of rams.* . . . . . .

" XXV. If any brother wisheth as a matter of right, or from motives of pride, to have the fairest or best habit, for such presumption without doubt he merits the very worst. . . . . .

" XXX. To each one of the knights let there be allotted three horses. The noted poverty of the House of God, and of the Temple of Solomon, does not at present permit an increase of the number, unless it be with the license of the Master. . . . . .

" XXXI. For the same reason we grant unto each knight only one esquire; but if that esquire serve any knight gratis, and for charity, it is not lawful to chide him, nor to strike him for any fault.

" XXXII. We order you to purchase for all the knights desiring to serve Christ in purity of spirit, horses fit for their daily occasions, and whatever is necessary for the due discharge of their profession. And we judge it fitting and expedient to have the horses valued by either party equally, and let the price be kept in writing, that it may not be forgotten. And whatsoever shall be necessary for the knight, or his horses, or his esquire, adding the furniture requisite for the horses, let it be bestowed out of the same house, according to the ability of that house. If, in the meanwhile, by some mischance it should happen that the knight has lost his horses in the service, it is the duty of the Master and of the house to find him others; but, on this being done, the knight himself, through the love of God, should pay half the price, the remainder, if it so please him, he may receive from the community of the brethren.

" XXXIII. . . . . It is to be holden, that when anything shall

have been enjoined by the Master, or by him to whom the Master hath given authority, there must be no hesitation, but the thing must be done without delay, as though it had been enjoined from heaven; as the truth itself says, *In the hearing of the ear he hath obeyed me.*

. . . . . .

" XXXV. . . . . When in the field, after they shall have been sent to their quarters, no knight, or esquire, or servant, shall go to the quarters of other knights to see them, or to speak to them, without the order of the superior before mentioned. We, moreover, in council, strictly command, that in his house, ordained of God, no man shall make war or make peace of his own free will, but shall wholly incline himself to the will of the Master, so that he may follow the saying of the Lord, *I came not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me.*

. . . . . .

XXXVII. We will not that gold or silver, which is the mark of private wealth, should ever be seen on your bridles, breastplates, or spurs, nor should it be permitted to any brother to buy such. If, indeed, such like furniture shall have been charitably bestowed upon you, the gold and silver must be so coloured, that its splendour and beauty may not impart to the wearer an appearance of arrogance beyond his fellows.

. . . . . .

" XL. Bags and trunks, with locks and keys, are not granted, nor can any one have them without the license of the Master, or of him to whom the business of the house is intrusted after the Master. In this regulation, however, the procurators (preceptors) governing in the different provinces are not understood to be included, nor the Master himself.

" XLI. It is in nowise lawful for any of the brothers to receive letters from his parents, or from any man, or to send letters, without the license of the Master, or of the procurator. After the brother shall have had leave, they must be read in the presence of the Master, if it so pleaseth

him. If, indeed, anything whatever shall have been directed to him from his parents, let him not presume to receive it until information has been first given to the Master. But in this regulation the Master and the procurators of the houses are not included.

" XLII. Since every idle word is known to beget sin, what can those who boast of their own faults say before the strict Judge? The prophet showeth wisely, that if we ought sometimes to be silent, and to refrain from good discourse for the sake of silence, how much the rather should we refrain from evil words, on account of the punishment of sin. We forbid therefore, and we resolutely condemn, all tales related by any brother, of the follies and irregularities of which he hath been guilty in the world, or in military matters, either with his brother or with any other man. It shall not be permitted him to speak with his brother of the irregularities of other men, nor of the delights of the flesh with miserable women; and if by chance he should hear another discoursing of such things, he shall make him silent, or with the swift foot of obedience he shall depart from him as soon as he is able, and shall lend not the ear of the heart to the vender of idle tales.

" XLIII. If any gift shall be made to a brother, let it be taken to the Master or the treasurer. If, indeed, his friend or his parent will consent to make the gift only on condition that he useth it himself, he must not receive it until permission hath been obtained from the Master. And whosoever shall have received a present, let it not grieve him if it be given to another. Yea, let him know assuredly, that if he be angry at it, he striveth against God.

. . . . .

" XLVI. We are all of opinion that none of you should dare to follow the sport of catching one bird with another: for it is not agreeable unto religion for you to be addicted unto worldly delights, but rather willingly to hear the precepts of the Lord, constantly to kneel down to prayer, and

daily to confess your sins before God with sighs and tears. Let no brother, for the above especial reason, presume to go forth with a man following such diversions with a hawk, or with any other bird.

" XLVII. Forasmuch as it becometh all religion to behave decently and humbly without laughter, and to speak sparingly but sensibly, and not in a loud tone, we specially command and direct every professed brother that he venture not to shoot in the woods either with a long-bow or a cross-bow; and for the same reason, that he venture not to accompany another who shall do the like, except it be for the purpose of protecting him from the perfidious infidel; neither shall he dare to halloo, or to talk to a dog, nor shall he spur his horse with a desire of securing the game.

. . . . .

" LI. Under Divine Providence, as we do believe, this new kind of religion was introduced by you in the holy places, that is to say, the union of warfare with religion, so that religion, being armed, maketh her way by the sword, and smiteth the enemy without sin. Therefore we do rightly adjudge, since ye are called KNIGHTS OF THE TEMPLE, that for your renowned merit, and especial gift of godliness, ye ought to have lands and men, and possess husbandmen and justly govern them, and the customary services ought to be specially rendered unto you.

" LII. Above all things, a most watchful care is to be bestowed upon sick brothers, and let their wants be attended to as though Christ himself was the sufferer, bearing in mind the blessed words of the Gospel, *I was sick, and ye visited me.* These are indeed carefully and patiently to be fostered, for by such is acquired a heavenly reward.

" LIII. We direct the attendants of those who are sick, with every attention, and with the most watchful care, diligently and faithfully to administer to them whatever is necessary for their several infirmities, according to the ability of the houses, for example, flesh and fowls and other things, until they are restored to health.

" LV. We permit you to have married brothers in this manner, if such should seek to participate in the benefit of your fraternity; let both the man and his wife grant, from and after their death, their respective portions of property, and whatever more they acquire in after life, to the unity of the common chapter; and, in the interim, let them exercise an honest life, and labour to do good to the brethren: but they are not permitted to appear in the white habit and white mantle. If the husband dies first, he must leave his portion of the patrimony to the brethren, and the wife shall have her maintenance out of the residue, and let her depart therewith; for we consider it most improper that such women should remain in one and the same house with the brethren who have promised chastity unto God.

" LVI. It is moreover exceedingly dangerous to join sisters with you in your holy profession, for the ancient enemy hath drawn many away from the right path to paradise through the society of women: therefore, dear brothers, that the flower of righteousness may always flourish amongst you, let this custom from henceforth be utterly done away with.

. . . . . .

" LVIII. If any knight out of the mass of perdition, or any secular man, wisheth to renounce the world and to choose your life and communion, he shall not be immediately received, but, according to the saying of Paul, *Prove the spirits, whether they be of God;* and if so, let him be admitted. Let the rule, therefore, be read in his presence; and if he shall have undertaken diligently to obey the precepts thereof, then, if it please the Master and the brothers to receive him, let the brothers be called together, and let him make known with sincerity of mind his desire and petition unto all. Then, indeed, the term of probation should altogether rest in the consideration and forethought of the Master, according to the honesty of life of the petitioner.

" LIX. We do not order all the brothers to be called, in every in-

stance, to the council, but those only whom the Master shall know to be circumspect, and fit to give advice; when, however, important matters are to be treated of, such as the granting of the land of the fraternity, or when the thing debated immediately affects the order itself, or when a brother is to be received, then it is fit that the whole society should be called together, if it please the Master, and the advice of the common chapter having been heard, the thing which the Master considereth the best and the most useful, that let him do. . . . .

" LXII. Although the rule of the holy fathers sanctions the dedication of children to a religious life, yet we will not suffer you to be burdened with them, but he who kindly desireth to give his own son or his kinsman to the military religion, let him bring him up until he arrives at an age when he can, with an armed hand, manfully root out the enemies of Christ from the Holy Land. Then, in accordance with our rule, let the father or the parents place him in the midst of the brothers, and lay open his petition to them all. For it is better not to vow in childhood, lest afterwards the grown man should foully fall away.

" LXIII. It behoves you to support, with pious consideration, all old men, according to their feebleness and weakness, and dutifully to honour them, and let them in nowise be restricted from the enjoyment of such things as may be necessary for the body; the authority of the rule, however, being preserved.

" LXIV. The brothers who are journeying through different provinces should observe the rule, so far as they are able, in their meat and drink, and let them attend to it in other matters, and live irreproachably, that they may get a good name out of doors. Let them not tarnish their religious purpose either by word or deed; let them afford to all with whom they may be associated, an example of wisdom, and a perseverance in all good works. Let him with whom they lodge be a man of the best repute, and, if it be possible, let not the house of the host on that night

be without a light, lest the dark enemy (from whom God preserve us) should find some opportunity. But where they shall hear of knights not excommunicated meeting together, we order them to hasten thither, not considering so much their temporal profit as the eternal safety of their souls. . . . . .

" LXVII. If any brother shall transgress in speaking, or fighting, or in any other light matter, let him voluntarily show his fault unto the Master by way of satisfaction. If there be no customary punishment for light faults, let there be a light penance; but if, he remaining silent, the fault should come to be known through the medium of another, he must be subjected to greater and more severe discipline and correction. If, indeed, the offence shall be grave, let him be withdrawn from the companionship of his fellows, let him not eat with them at the same table, but take his repast alone. The whole matter is left to the judgment and discretion of the Master, that his soul may be saved at the day of judgment.

" LXVIII. But, above all things, care must be taken that no brother, powerful or weak, strong or feeble, desirous of exalting himself, becoming proud by degrees, or defending his own fault, remain unchastened. If he showeth a disposition to amend, let a stricter system of correction be added: but if by godly admonition and earnest reasoning he will not be amended, but will go on more and more lifting himself up with pride, then let him be cast out of the holy flock in obedience to the apostle, *Take away evil from among you.* It is necessary that from the society of the Faithful Brothers the dying sheep be removed. But let the Master, who *ought to hold the staff and the rod in his hand,* that is to say, the staff that he may support the infirmities of the weak, and the rod that he may with the zeal of rectitude strike down the vices of delinquents; let him study, with the counsel of the patriarch and with spiritual circumspection, to act so that, as blessed Maximus saith, The sinner be not

encouraged by easy lenity, nor hardened in his iniquity by immoderate severity. . . . .

" LXXI. Contentions, envyings, spite, murmurings, backbiting, slander, we command you, with godly admonition, to avoid, and do ye flee therefrom as from the plague. Let every one of you, therefore, dear brothers, study with a watchful mind that he do not secretly slander his brother, nor accuse him, but let him studiously ponder upon the saying of the apostle, *Be not thou an accuser or a whisperer among the people.* But when he knoweth clearly that his brother hath offended, let him gently and with brotherly kindness reprove him in private, according to the commandment of the Lord: and if he will not hear him, let him take to him another brother, and if he shall take no heed of both, let him be publicly reproved in the assembly before all. For they have indeed much blindness who take little pains to guard against spite, and thence become swallowed up in the ancient wickedness of the subtle adversary.

" LASTLY. We hold it dangerous to all religion to gaze too much on the countenance of women; and therefore no brother shall presume to kiss neither widow, nor virgin, nor mother, nor sister, nor aunt, nor any other woman. Let the knighthood of Christ shun *feminine kisses*, through which men have very often been drawn into danger, so that each, with a pure conscience and secure life, may be able to walk everlastingly in the sight of God."*

The above rule having been confirmed by a Papal bull, Hugh de Payens proceeded to France, and from thence he came to England, and the following account is given of his arrival, in the Saxon chronicle.

"This same year, (A.D. 1128,) Hugh of the Temple came from

* Ego Joannes Michaelensis, præsentis paginæ, jussu consilii ac venerabilis abbatis Claræ-vallensis, cui creditum ac debitum hoc fuit, humilis scriba esse, divinâ gratiâ merui. —*Chron. Cisterc.* ut sup.

Jerusalem to the king in Normandy, and the king received him with much honour, and gave him much treasure in gold and silver, and afterwards he sent him into England, and there he was well received by all good men, and all gave him treasure, and in Scotland also, and they sent in all a great sum in gold and silver by him to Jerusalem, and there went with him and after him so great a number as never before since the days of Pope Urban."* Grants of lands, as well as of money, were at the same time made to Hugh de Payens and his brethren, some of which were shortly afterwards confirmed by King Stephen on his accession to the throne, (A. D. 1135.) Among these is a grant of the manor of Bistelesham made to the Templars by Count Robert de Ferrara, and a grant of the church of Langeforde in Bedfordshire made by Simon de Wahull, and Sibylla his wife, and Walter their son.

Hugh de Payens, before his departure, placed a Knight Templar at the head of the order in this country, who was called the Prior of the Temple, and was the procurator and vicegerent of the Master. It was his duty to manage the estates granted to the fraternity, and to transmit the revenues to Jerusalem. He was also delegated with the power of admitting members into the order, subject to the control and direction of the Master, and was to provide means of transport for such newly-admitted brethren to the far east, to enable them to fulfil the duties of their profession. As the houses of the Temple increased in number in England, sub-priors came to be appointed, and the superior of the order in this country was then called the Grand Prior, and afterwards Master of the Temple.

Many illustrious knights of the best families in Europe aspired to

* See also Hoveden apud X script. page 479. Hen. Hunting. ib. page 384.

the habit and the vows, but however exalted their rank, they were not received within the bosom of the fraternity until they had proved themselves by their conduct worthy of such a fellowship. Thus, when Hugh d'Amboise, who had harassed and oppressed the people of Marmontier by unjust exactions, and had refused to submit to the judicial decision of the Count of Anjou, desired to enter the order, Hugh de Payens refused to admit him to the vows, until he had humbled himself, renounced his pretensions, and given perfect satisfaction to those whom he had injured.* The candidates, moreover, previous to their admission, were required to make reparation and satisfaction for all damage done by them at any time to churches, and to public or private property.

An astonishing enthusiasm was excited throughout Christendom in behalf of the Templars; princes and nobles, sovereigns and their subjects, vied with each other in heaping gifts and benefits upon them, and scarce a will of importance was made without an article in it in their favour. Many illustrious persons on their deathbeds took the vows, that they might be buried in the habit of the order; and sovereigns, quitting the government of their kingdoms, enrolled themselves amongst the holy fraternity, and bequeathed even their dominions to the Master and the brethren of the Temple.

Thus, Raymond Berenger, Count of Barcelona and Provence, at a very advanced age, abdicating his throne, and shaking off the ensigns of royal authority, retired to the house of the Templars at Barcelona, and pronounced his vows, (A. D. 1130,) before brother Hugh de Rigauld, the Prior. His infirmities not allowing him to proceed in person to the chief house of the order at Jerusalem, he sent vast

* *Annales Benedictini*, tom. vi. p. 166.

sums of money thither, and immuring himself in a small cell in the Temple at Barcelona, he there remained in the constant exercise of the religious duties of his profession until the day of his death.* At the same period, the Emperor Lothaire bestowed on the order a large portion of his patrimony of Supplinburg; and the year following, (A.D. 1131,) Alphonso the First, king of Navarre and Arragon, also styled Emperor of Spain, one of the greatest warriors of the age, by his will declared the Knights of the Temple his heirs and successors in the crowns of Navarre and Arragon, and a few hours before his death he caused this will to be ratified and signed by most of the barons of both kingdoms. The validity of the document, however, was disputed, and the claims of the Templars were successfully resisted by the nobles of Navarre; but in Arragon they obtained, by way of compromise, lands, and castles, and considerable dependencies, a portion of the customs and duties levied throughout the kingdom, and of the contributions raised from the Moors.†

To increase the enthusiasm in favour of the Templars, and still further to swell their ranks with the best and bravest of the European chivalry, St. Bernard, at the request of Hugh de Payens,‡ took up his powerful pen in their behalf. In a famous discourse "In praise of the New Chivalry," the holy abbot sets forth, in eloquent and enthusiastic terms, the spiritual advantages and bless-

* *Histoire de Languedoc*, lib. xvii. p. 407.

† *Hist. de l'eglise de Gandersheim. Mariana de rebus Hispaniæ*, lib. x. ca. 15, 17, 18. *Zurita anales de la corona de Aragon*, tom. i. lib. i. cap. 52. *Quarita*, tom. i. lib. ii. cap. 4.

‡ Semel et secundo, et tertio, ni fallor, petiisti a me. Hugo carissime, ut tibi tuisque commilitonibus scriberem exhortationis sermonem, et adversus hostilem tyrannidem, quia lanceam non liceret, stilum vibrarem. *Exhortatio S. Bernardi ad Milites Templi, ed. Mabillon. Parisiis*, 1839, tom. i. col. 1253 to 1278.

ings enjoyed by the military friars of the Temple over all other warriors. He draws a curious picture of the relative situations and circumstances of the *secular* soldiery and the soldiery of *Christ*, and shows how different in the sight of God are the bloodshed and slaughter perpetrated by the one, from that committed by the other.

This extraordinary discourse is written with great spirit; it is addressed "To Hugh, Knight of Christ, and Master of the Knighthood of Christ," is divided into fourteen parts or chapters, and commences with a short prologue. It is curiously illustrative of the spirit of the times, and some of its most striking passages will be read with interest.

The holy abbot thus pursues his comparison between the soldier of the world and the soldier of Christ—the *secular* and the *religious* warrior.

"As often as thou who wagest a secular warfare marchest forth to battle, it is greatly to be feared lest when thou slayest thine enemy in the body, he should destroy thee in the spirit, or lest peradventure thou shouldst be at once slain by him both in body and soul. From the disposition of the heart, indeed, not by the event of the fight, is to be estimated either the jeopardy or the victory of the Christian. If, fighting with the desire of killing another, thou shouldest chance to get killed thyself, thou diest a man-slayer; if, on the other hand, thou prevailest, and through a desire of conquest or revenge killest a man, thou livest a man-slayer. . . . O unfortunate victory, when in overcoming thine adversary thou fallest into sin, and anger or pride having the mastery over thee, in vain thou gloriest over the vanquished. . . . .

"What, therefore, is the fruit of this secular, I will not say

'*militia*,' but '*malitia*,' if the slayer committeth a deadly sin, and the slain perisheth eternally? Verily, to use the words of the apostle, he that ploweth should plow in hope, and he that thresheth should be partaker of his hope. Whence, therefore, O soldiers, cometh this so stupendous error? What insufferable madness is this—to wage war with so great cost and labour, but with no pay except either death or crime? Ye cover your horses with silken trappings, and I know not how much fine cloth hangs pendent from your coats of mail. Ye paint your spears, shields, and saddles; your bridles and spurs are adorned on all sides with gold, and silver, and gems, and with all this pomp, with a shameful fury and a reckless insensibility, ye rush on to death. Are these military ensigns, or are they not rather the garnishments of women? Can it happen that the sharp-pointed sword of the enemy will respect gold, will it spare gems, will it be unable to penetrate the silken garment? Lastly, as ye yourselves have often experienced, three things are indispensably necessary to the success of the soldier; he must, for example, be bold, active, and circumspect; quick in running, prompt in striking; ye, however, to the disgust of the eye, nourish your hair after the manner of women, ye gather around your footsteps long and flowing vestures, ye bury up your delicate and tender hands in ample and wide-spreading sleeves. Among you, indeed, nought provoketh war or awakeneth strife, but either an irrational impulse of anger, or an insane lust of glory, or the covetous desire of possessing another man's lands and possessions. In such causes it is neither safe to slay nor to be slain. . . . .

III. "But the soldiers of CHRIST indeed securely fight the battles of their Lord, in no wise fearing sin either from the slaughter of

the enemy, or danger from their own death. When indeed death is to be given or received for Christ, it has nought of crime in it, but much of glory. . . . .

"And now for an example, or to the confusion of our soldiers fighting not manifestly for God but for the devil, we will briefly display the mode of life of the Knights of Christ, such as it is in the field and in the convent, by which means it will be made plainly manifest to what extent the soldiery of GOD and the soldiery of the WORLD differ from one another. . . . The soldiers of Christ live together in common in an agreeable but frugal manner, without wives and without children; and that nothing may be wanting to evangelical perfection, they dwell together without property of any kind,* in one house, under one rule, careful to preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. You may say, that to the whole multitude there is but one heart and one soul, as each one in no respect followeth after his own will or desire, but is diligent to do the will of the Master. They are never idle nor rambling abroad, but when they are not in the field, that they may not eat their bread in idleness, they are fitting and repairing their armour and their clothing, or employing themselves in such occupations as the will of the Master requireth, or their common necessities render expedient. Among them there is no distinction of persons; respect is paid to the best and most virtuous, not the most noble. They participate in each other's honour, they bear one another's burthens, that they may fulfil the law of Christ. An insolent expression, a useless undertaking, immoderate laughter, the least murmur or whispering, if found out, passeth not without severe rebuke. They detest cards

* i. e. Without any *separate* property.

and dice, they shun the sports of the field, and take no delight in that ludicrous catching of birds, (hawking,) which men are wont to indulge in. Jesters, and soothsayers, and storytellers, scurrilous songs, shows and games, they contemptuously despise and abominate as vanities and mad follies. They cut their hair, knowing that, according to the apostle, it is not seemly in a man to have long hair. They are never combed, seldom washed, but appear rather with rough neglected hair, foul with dust, and with skins browned by the sun and their coats of mail.

"Moreover, on the approach of battle they fortify themselves with faith within, and with steel without, and not with gold, so that, armed and not adorned, they may strike terror into the enemy, rather than awaken his lust of plunder. They strive earnestly to possess strong and swift horses, but not garnished with ornaments or decked with trappings, thinking of battle and of victory, and not of pomp and show, and studying to inspire fear rather than admiration. . . . .

"Such hath God chosen for his own, and hath collected together as his ministers from the ends of the earth, from among the bravest of Israel, who indeed vigilantly and faithfully guard the holy sepulchre, all armed with the sword, and most learned in the art of war. . . . ."

"Concerning the TEMPLE."

"There is indeed a Temple at Jerusalem in which they dwell together, unequal, it is true, as a building, to that ancient and most famous one of Solomon, but not inferior in glory. For truly, the entire magnificence of that consisted in corrupt things, in gold and silver, in carved stone, and in a variety of woods; but the whole

beauty of this resteth in the adornment of an agreeable conversation, in the godly devotion of its inmates, and their beautifully-ordered mode of life. That was admired for its various external beauties, this is venerated for its different virtues and sacred actions, as becomes the sanctity of the house of God, who delighteth not so much in polished marbles as in well-ordered behaviour, and regardeth pure minds more than gilded walls. The face likewise of this Temple is adorned with arms, not with gems, and the wall, instead of the ancient golden chapiters, is covered around with pendent shields. Instead of the ancient candelabra, censers, and lavers, the house is on all sides furnished with bridles, saddles, and lances, all which plainly demonstrate that the soldiers burn with the same zeal for the house of God, as that which formerly animated their great leader, when, vehemently enraged, he entered into the Temple, and with that most sacred hand, armed not with steel, but with a scourge which he had made of small thongs, drove out the merchants, poured out the changers' money, and overthrew the tables of them that sold doves; most indignantly condemning the pollution of the house of prayer, by the making of it a place of merchandize."

"The devout army of Christ, therefore, earnestly incited by the example of its king, thinking indeed that the holy places are much more impiously and insufferably polluted by the infidels than when defiled by merchants, abide in the holy house with horses and with arms, so that from that, as well as all the other sacred places, all filthy and diabolical madness of infidelity being driven out, they may occupy themselves by day and by night in honourable and useful offices. They emulously honour the Temple of God with sedulous and sincere oblations, offering sacrifices therein with constant devo-

tion, not indeed of the flesh of cattle after the manner of the ancients, but peaceful sacrifices, brotherly love, devout obedience, voluntary poverty."

"These things are done perpetually at Jerusalem, and the world is aroused, the islands hear, and the nations take heed from afar. . . . ."

St. Bernard then congratulates Jerusalem on the advent of the soldiers of Christ, and declares that the holy city will rejoice with a double joy in being rid of all her oppressors, the ungodly, the robbers, the blasphemers, murderers, perjurers, and adulterers; and in receiving her faithful defenders and sweet consolers, under the shadow of whose protection "Mount Zion shall rejoice, and the daughters of Judah sing for joy."

"Be joyful, O Jerusalem," says he, "in the words of the prophet Isaiah, "and know that the time of thy visitation hath arrived. Arise now, shake thyself from the dust, O virgin captive, daughter of Zion; arise, I say, and stand forth amongst the mighty, and see the pleasantness that cometh unto thee from thy God. Thou shalt no more be termed *forsaken*, neither shall thy land any more be termed *desolate*. . . . Lift up thine eyes round about, and behold; all these gather themselves together, and come to thee. This is the assistance sent unto thee from on High. Now, now, indeed, through these is that ancient promise made to thee thoroughly to be performed. 'I will make thee an eternal joy, a glory from generation to generation.'

. . . . . .

"HAIL, therefore, O holy city, hallowed by the tabernacle of the Most High! HAIL, city of the great King, wherein so many won-

derful and welcome miracles have been perpetually displayed. HAIL, mistress of the nations, princess of provinces, possession of patriarchs, mother of the prophets and apostles, initiatress of the faith, glory of the christian people, whom God hath on that account always from the beginning permitted to be visited with affliction, that thou mightest thus be the occasion of virtue as well as of salvation to brave men. HAIL, land of promise, which, formerly flowing only with milk and honey for thy possessors, now stretchest forth the food of life, and the means of salvation to the entire world. Most excellent and happy land, I say, which receiving the celestial grain from the recess of the paternal heart, in that most fruitful bosom of thine, hast produced such rich harvests of martyrs from the heavenly seed, and whose fertile soil hast no less manifoldly engendered fruit a thirtieth, sixtieth, and a hundredfold in the remaining race of all the faithful throughout the entire world. Whence most agreeably satiated, and most abundantly crammed with the great store of thy pleasantness, those who have seen thee diffuse around them (*eructant*) in every place the remembrance of thy abundant sweetness, and tell of the magnificence of thy glory to the very end of the earth to those who have not seen thee, and relate the wonderful things that are done in thee."

"Glorious things are spoken concerning thee, CITY OF GOD!"

## CHAPTER III.

Hugh de Payens returns to Palestine—His death—Robert de Craon made Master—Success of the Infidels—The second Crusade—The Templars assume the Red Cross—Their gallant actions and high discipline—Lands, manors, and churches granted them in England—Bernard de Tremelay made Master—He is slain by the Infidels—Bertrand de Blanquefort made Master—He is taken prisoner, and sent in chains to Aleppo—The Pope writes letters in praise of the Templars—Their religious and military enthusiasm—Their war banner called *Beauseant*—The rise of the rival religio-military order of the Hospital of St. John.

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"We heard the *tecbir*, so the Arabs call
Their shout of onset, when with loud appeal
They challenge *heaven*, as if commanding conquest."

HUGH DE PAYENS, A. D. 1129.

HUGH DE PAYENS, having now laid in Europe the foundations of the great monastic and military institution of the Temple, which was destined shortly to spread its ramifications to the remotest quarters of Christendom, returned to Palestine at the head of a valiant band of newly-elected Templars, drawn principally from England and France.

On their arrival at Jerusalem they were received with great distinction by the king, the clergy, and the barons of the Latin kingdom, a grand council was called together, at which Hugh de Payens assisted, and various warlike measures were undertaken for the extension and protection of the christian territories.

Hugh de Payens died, however, shortly after his return, and was succeeded (A. D. 1136) by the Lord Robert, surnamed the Burgundian, (son-in-law of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury,) who, after the death of his wife, had taken the vows and the habit of the Templars.* He was a valiant and skilful general,† but the utmost exertions of himself and his military monks were found insufficient to sustain the tottering empire of the Latin Christians.

ROBERT DE CRAON. A. D. 1136.

The fierce religious and military enthusiasm of the Mussulmen had been again aroused by the warlike Zinghis, and his son Noureddin, two of the most famous chieftains of the age, who were regarded by the disciples of Mahomet as champions that could avenge the cause of the prophet, and recover to the civil and religious authority of the caliph the lost city of Jerusalem, and all the holy places so deeply venerated by the Moslems. The one was named *Emod-ed-deen*, "Pillar of religion;" and the other *Noured-deen*, "Light of Religion," vulgarly, Noureddin. The Templars were worsted by overpowering numbers in several battles: and in one of these the valiant Templar, Brother Odo de Montfaucon, was slain.‡ Emodeddeen took Tænza, Estarel, Hizam, Hesn-arruk, Hesn-Collis, &c. &c., and closed his victorious career by the capture of the important city of Edessa. Noureddin followed in the footsteps of the father: he obtained possession of the

* *Will. Tyr.* lib. xiii. cap. 26; *Anselmus*, lib. iii. epistolarum. epist. 43,63, 66, 67; *Duchesne in Hist. Burg.* lib. iv. cap. 37.

† Miles eximius et in armis strenuus, nobilis carne et moribus, dominus Robertus cognomine Burgundio Magister militiæ Templi.—*Will. Tyr.* lib. xv. cap. 6.

‡ Vir eximius frater militiæ Templi Otto de Monte Falconis, omnes de morte suâ mœrore et gemitu conficiens, occisus est.—*Will. Tyr.* lib. xv. cap. 6.

fortresses of Arlene, Mamoula, Basarfout, Kafarlatha; and overthrew with terrific slaughter the young Jocelyn de Courtenay, in a rash attempt to recover possession of his principality of Edessa.* The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was shaken to its foundations, and the oriental clergy in trepidation and alarm sent urgent letters to the Pope for assistance. The holy pontiff accordingly commissioned St. Bernard to preach the second crusade.

EVERARD DES BARRES. A. D. 1146.

The Lord Robert, Master of the Temple, had at this period (A. D. 1146) been succeeded by Everard des Barres, Prior of France, who convened a general chapter of the order at Paris, which was attended by Pope Eugenius the Third, Louis the Seventh, king of France, and many prelates, princes, and nobles, from all parts of Christendom. The second crusade was there arranged, and the Templars, with the sanction of the Pope, assumed the blood-red cross, the symbol of martyrdom, as the distinguishing badge of the order, which was appointed to be worn on their habits and mantles on the left side of the breast over the heart, whence they came afterwards to be known by the name of the *Red Friars* and the *Red Cross Knights*.†

At this famous assembly various donations were made to the Templars, to enable them to provide more effectually for the defence of the Holy Land. Bernard Baliol, through love of God and for the good of his soul, granted them his estate of Wedelee, in Hertfordshire, which afterwards formed part of the preceptory of Temple Dynnesley. This grant is expressed to be made at the chapter

* *Abulfeda*, ad ann. Hegir. 534, 539. *Will. Tyr.* lib. xvi. cap. 4, 5, 7, 15, 16, who terms Zinghis, Sanguin. *Abulfaradge Chron. Syr.* p. 326, 328. *Will. Tyr.* lib. xvi. cap. 14.

† *Odo de Diogilo*, p. 33. *Will. Tyr.* lib. xii. cap. 7; *Jac. de Vitr.* cap. lxv.; *Paul. Æmil.* p. 254; *Monast. Angl.* vol. vii. p. 814.

held at Easter, in Paris, in the presence of the Pope, the king of France, several archbishops, and one hundred and thirty Knights Templars clad in white mantles.* Shortly before this, the dukes of Brittany and Lorraine, and the counts of Brabant and Foucalquier, had given to the order various lands and estates; and the possessions and power of the fraternity continued rapidly to increase in every part of Europe.† EVERARD DES BARRES. A.D. 1146.

A wonderful enthusiasm in the cause of the cross was excited by the eloquent sermons of St. Bernard. "If I came," says that holy abbot, in one of his addresses to the faithful, "to announce to you that the enemy had stormed your cities and your castles, and had desolated your lands; had ravished your wives and your daughters, and profaned your churches, who amongst you would not at once have rushed to arms? Well, now, all these misfortunes, and even greater calamities than these, have befallen your brethren of the family of Jesus Christ. What will you do, then, to repair such great evils? how will you take vengeance for such outrages? Will you permit the infidels calmly to gaze upon the ravages they have committed amongst the christian people? . . . . . The living God hath charged me to announce to you that he will punish all those

* In nomine sanctæ et individuæ Trinitatis omnibus dominis et amicis [redacted], et Sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ filiis, Bernardus de Baliolo Salutem. Volo notum fieri omnibus tam futuris quam præsentibus, quod pro dilectione Dei et pro salute animæ meæ, antecessorumque meorum fratribus militibus de Templo Salomonis dedi et concessi Wedelee, &c. . . . . Hoc donum in capitulo, quod in Octavis Paschæ Parisiis fuit, feci, domino apostolico Eugenio præsente, et ipso rege Franciæ, et archiepiscopo Seuver, et Bardell et Rothomagi, et Frascumme; et fratribus militibus Templi alba chlamide indutis cxxx præsentibus.—*Reg. Cart. S. Joh. Jerus. in Bib. Cotton. Nero E. b.* No. xx. fo. 118.

† *Gallia christiana nova*, tom. i. col. 486.

EVERARD DES BARRES. A. D. 1146.

who shall neglect to defend him from his enemies. Fly then to arms; let a holy indignation urge you to the combat! . . . God extendeth his regards towards the sons of men, that he may open to them the high road to his mercy. His goodness hath caused the day of salvation to dawn upon you, in summoning you to avenge his glory and his name. Christian warriors, he who hath laid down his life for your sakes, this day demands a like sacrifice from you. Behold battles worthy of your prowess; combats wherein victory is truly glorious, and death a blessing! Illustrious knights, call to mind the example of your fathers who conquered Jerusalem, and whose names are written in heaven; abandon like them the perishable goods of this world, to gather everlasting crowns of glory, and conquer a kingdom which perisheth not." *

The holy abbot of Clairvaux made a triumphant march through France and Germany, going about from place to place exciting the pious ardour of the people, and summoning the nations to the defence of the holy sepulchre. He was received everywhere as the missionary and prophet of God, and his eloquence and zeal were crowned with signal and triumphant success. In his letters to the pope, he exults in the depopulation of Europe, declares that cities and castles were emptied of their inhabitants, and computes that only one man was left behind for the consolation of seven widows.†

Brother Everard des Barres, the newly-elected Master of the Temple, having collected together all the brethren from the western

* S. Bernardi epist. cccxxii.

† Mandastis et obedivi. . . . . multiplicati sunt super numerum; vacuantur urbes et castella, et pene jam non inveniunt quem apprehendant septem mulieres unum virum; adeo ubique viduæ vivis remanent viris. S. Bernardi. epist. p. 247.

provinces, joined the standard of Louis, the French king, and accompanied the crusaders to Palestine. EVERARD DES BARRES. A. D. 1147.

During the march through Asia Minor, the rear of the christian army was protected by the Templars, who greatly signalized themselves on every occasion. Odo of Deuil, or Diagolum, the chaplain of King Louis, and his constant attendant upon this expedition, informs us that the king loved to see the frugality and simplicity of the Templars, and to imitate it; he praised their union and disinterestedness, admired above all things the attention they paid to their accoutrements, and their care in husbanding and preserving their equipage and munitions of war: he proposed them as a model to the rest of the army, and in a council of war it was solemnly ordered that all the soldiers and officers should bind themselves in confraternity with the Templars, and should march under their orders.*

Conrad, emperor of Germany, had preceded King Louis at the head of a powerful army, which was cut to pieces by the infidels in the north of Asia; he fled to Constantinople, embarked on board some merchant vessels, and arrived with only a few attendants at Jerusalem, where he was received and entertained by the Templars, and was lodged in the Temple in the Holy City.† Shortly afterwards King Louis arrived, accompanied by the new Master of the Temple, Everard des Barres; and the Templars now unfolded for

* *Odo de Diogilo de Ludov.* vii. *profectione in Orientem*, p. 67.

† Rex per aliquot dies in Palatio Templariorum, ubi olim Regia Domus, quæ et Templum Salomonis constructa fuit manens, et sancta ubique loca peragrans, per Samariam ad Galilæam Ptolemaidam rediit. . . . . Convenerat enim cum rege militibusque Templi, circa proximum Julium, in Syriam ad expugnationem Damasci exercitum ducere.—*Otto Frising*, cap. 58.

EVERARD DES BARRES. A. D. 1148.

the first time the red-cross banner in the field of battle. This was a white standard made of woollen stuff, having in the centre of it the blood-red cross granted by Pope Eugenius. The two monarchs, Louis and Conrad, took the field, supported by the Templars, and laid siege to the magnificent city of Damascus, "the Queen of Syria," which was defended by the great Noureddin, "Light of religion," and his brother *Saif-eddin*, "Sword of the faith."

The services rendered by the Templars are thus gratefully recorded in the following letter sent by Louis, the French king, to his minister and vicegerent, the famous Suger, abbot of St. Denis.

"Louis, by the grace of God king of France and Aquitaine, to his beloved and most faithful friend Suger, the very reverend Abbot of St. Denis, health and good wishes.

". . . . . I cannot imagine how we could have subsisted for even the smallest space of time in these parts, had it not been for their (the Templars') support and assistance, which have never failed me from the first day I set foot in these lands up to the time of my despatching this letter—a succour ably afforded and generously persevered in. I therefore earnestly beseech you, that as these brothers of the Temple have hitherto been blessed with the love of God, so now they may be gladdened and sustained by our love and favour.

"I have to inform you that they have lent me a considerable sum of money, which must be repaid to them quickly, that their house may not suffer, and that I may keep my word. . . ." *

* Ludovici regis ad abbatem Sugerium epist. 58.—*Duchesne hist. franc. scrip.* tom. iv. p. 512; see also epist. 59, ibid.

Everard des Barres. A. D. 1148.

Among the English nobility who enlisted in the second crusade were the two renowned warriors, Roger de Mowbray and William de Warrenne.* Roger de Mowbray was one of the most powerful and warlike of the barons of England, and was one of the victorious leaders at the famous battle of the standard: he marched with King Louis to Palestine; fought under the banners of the Temple against the infidels, and, smitten with admiration of the piety and valour of the holy warriors of the order, he gave them, on his return to England, many valuable estates and possessions. Among these were the manors of Kileby and Witheley, divers lands in the isle of Axholme, the town of Balshall in the county of Warwick, and various places in Yorkshire; and so munificent were his donations, that the Templars conceded to him and to his heirs this special privilege, that as often as the said Roger or his heirs should find any brother of the order of the Temple exposed to public penance, according to the rule and custom of the religion of the Templars, it should be lawful for the said Roger and his heirs to release such brother from the punishment of his public penance, without the interference or contradiction of any brother of the order.†

About the same period, Stephen, King of England, for the health of his own soul and that of Queen Matilda his wife, and for the good of the souls of King Henry, his grandfather, and Eustace, his son, and all his other children, granted and confirmed to God and the blessed Virgin Mary, and to the brethren of the knighthood of the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, all the manor of Cressynge,

* *Simeonis Dunelmensis hist.* ad ann. 1148, *apud* X *script.*

† *Dugdale Baronage*, tom. i. p. 122. *Dugd. Monast.* vol. vii. p. 838.

EVERARD DES BARRES. A. D. 1148.

with the advowson of the church of the same manor, and also the manors of Egle and Witham.* Queen Matilda, likewise, for the good of the souls of Earl Eustace, her father, the Lord Stephen, king of England, her husband, and of all her other children, granted "to the brethren of the Temple at Jerusalem" the manor of Covele or Cowley in Oxfordshire, two mills in the same county, common of pasture in Shotover forest, and the church of Stretton in Rutland.† Ralph de Hastings and William de Hastings also gave to the Templars, in the same reign, (A. D. 1152,) lands at Hurst and Wyxham in Yorkshire, afterwards formed into the preceptory of Temple Hurst. William Asheby granted them the estate whereon the house and church of Temple Bruere were afterwards erected;‡ and the order continued rapidly to increase in power and wealth in England and in all parts of Europe, through the charitable donations of pious Christians.

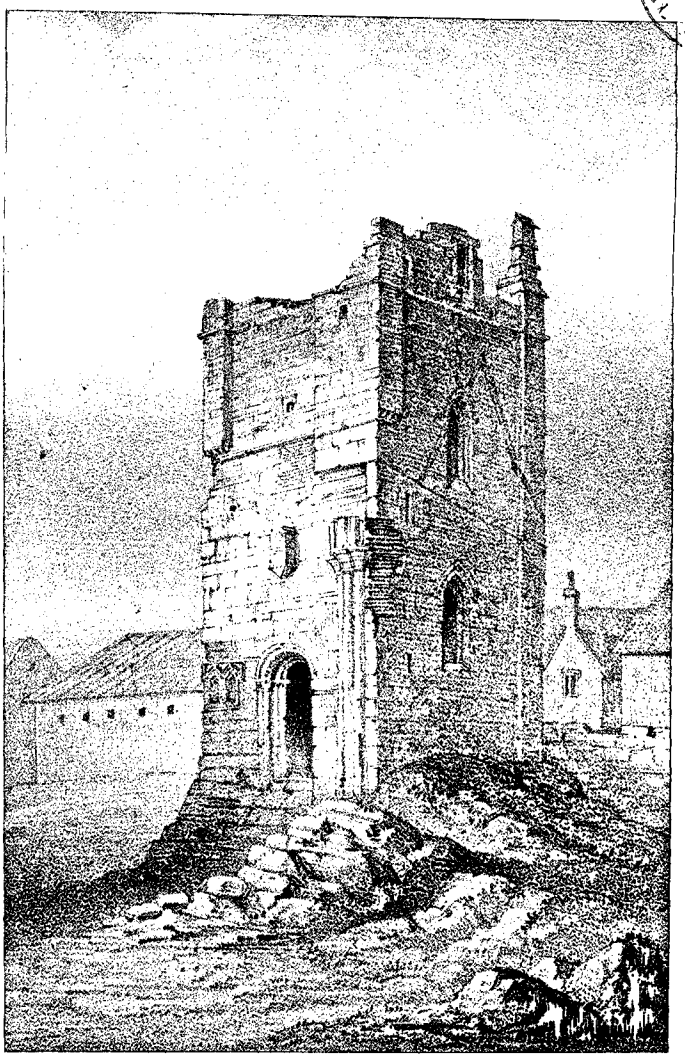
After the miserable failure of the second crusade,§ brother Everard des Barres, the Master of the Temple, returned to Paris, with his friend and patron Louis, the French king; and the Templars, deprived of their chief, were now left alone and unaided to withstand the victorious career of the fanatical Mussulmen. Their miserable situation is thus portrayed in a melancholy letter from the treasurer

* Ex regist. Hosp. S. Joh. Jerusalem in Anglia in *Bib. Cotton.* fol. 289. a-b. *Dugd. Monast. Angl.* ed. 1830, vol. ii. p 820.

† Ex. cod. vet. M. S. penes Anton Wood, Oxon. fol. 14 a. Ib. p. 843.

‡ *Liber Johannis Stillingflete,* M. S. in officio armorum (L. 17) fol. 141 a, Harleian M. S. No. 4937.

§ *Geoffrey of Clairvaux* observes, however, that the second crusade could hardly be called *unfortunate,* though it did not at all help the Holy Land, it served to *people heaven with martyrs.*



J Brandard lith [illegible] M&N Hanhart imp Printers

TOWER OF THE PRECEPTORY OF TEMPLE BRUERE, LINCOLNSHIRE.

of the order, written to the Master, Everard des Barres, during his sojourn at the court of the king of France. EVERARD DES BARRES. A. D. 1149.

" Since we have been deprived of your beloved presence, we have had the misfortune to lose in battle the prince of Antioch* and all his nobility. To this catastrophe has succeeded another. The infidels invaded the territory of Antioch; they drove all before them, and threw garrisons into several strong places. On the first intelligence of this disaster, our brethren assembled in arms, and in concert with the king of Jerusalem went to the succour of the desolated province. We could only get together for this expedition one hundred and twenty knights and one thousand serving brothers and hired soldiers, for whose equipment we expended seven thousand crowns at Acre, and one thousand at Jerusalem. Your paternity knows on what condition we assented to your departure, and our extreme want of money, of cavalry, and of infantry. We earnestly implore you to rejoin us as soon as possible, with all the necessary succours for the Eastern Church, our common mother.

" . . . . Scarce had we arrived in the neighbourhood of Antioch, ere we were hemmed in by the Turcomans on the one side, and the sultan of Aleppo (Noureddin) on the other, who blockade us in the environs of the town, whilst our vineyards are destroyed, and our harvests laid waste. Overwhelmed with grief at the pitiable condition to which we are reduced, we conjure you to abandon everything, and embark without delay. Never was your presence more necessary to your brethren;—at no conjuncture could your return

* His head and right hand were cut off by Noureddin, and sent to the caliph at Bagdad.—*Abulfarag. Chron. Syr.* p. 336.

EVERARD DES BARRES. A. D. 1149.

be more agreeable to God. . . . The greater part of those whom we led to the succour of Antioch are dead. . . .

"We conjure you to bring with you from beyond sea all our knights and serving brothers capable of bearing arms. · Perchance, alas! with all your diligence, you may not find one of us alive. Use, therefore, all imaginable celerity; pray forget not the necessities of our house: they are such that no tongue can express them. It is also of the last importance to announce to the Pope, to the king of France, and to all the princes and prelates of Europe, the approaching desolation of the Holy Land, to the intent that they succour us in person, or send us subsidies. Whatever obstacles may be opposed to your departure, we trust to your zeal to surmount them, for now hath arrived the time for perfectly accomplishing our vows in sacrificing ourselves for our brethren, for the defence of the eastern church, and the holy sepulchre.

. . . . . .

"For you, our dear brothers in Europe, whom the same engagements and the same vows ought to make keenly alive to our misfortunes, join yourselves to our chief, enter into his views, second his designs, fail not to sell everything; come to the rescue; it is from you we await liberty and life!"*

On the receipt of this letter, the Master of the Temple, instead of proceeding to Palestine, abdicated his authority, and entered into the monastery of Clairvaux, where he devoted the remainder of his days to the most rigorous penance and mortification.

BERNARD DE TREMELAY. A. D. 1151.

He was succeeded (A. D. 1151) by Bernard de Tremelay, a noble-

* *Spicilegii Dacheriani*, tom. ii. p. 511; see also *Will. Tyr.* lib. xvii. cap. 9.

man of an illustrious family in Burgundy, in France, and a valiant and experienced soldier.* BERNARD DE TREMELAY. A. D. 1152.

The infidels made continual incursions into the christian territories, and shortly after his accession to power they crossed the Jordan, and advanced within sight of Jerusalem. Their yellow and green banners waved on the summit of the Mount of Olives, and the warlike sound of their kettle-drums and trumpets was heard within the sacred precincts of the holy city. They encamped on the mount over against the Temple; and had the satisfaction of regarding from a distance the *Beit Allah*, or Temple of the Lord, their holy house of prayer. In a night attack, however, they were defeated with terrible slaughter, and were pursued all the way to the Jordan, five thousand of their number being left dead on the plain.†

Shortly after this affair the Templars lost their great patron, Saint Bernard, who died on the 20th of April, A. D. 1153, in the sixty-third year of his age. On his deathbed he wrote three letters in behalf of the order. The first was addressed to the patriarch of Antioch, exhorting him to protect and encourage the Templars, a thing which the holy abbot assures him will prove most acceptable to God and man. The second was written to Melesinda, queen of Jerusalem, praising her majesty for the favour shown by her to the brethren of the order; and the third, addressed to Brother André de Montbard, a Knight Templar, conveys the affectionate salutations of St. Bernard to the Master and brethren, to whose prayers he recommends himself.‡

* *Will. Tyr.* lib. xvii. cap. 21. *L'art de verifier les dates*, p. 340. *Nobiliaire de Franche-Compté*, par Dunod, p. 140.

† *Will. Tyr.* lib. xvii. cap. 20. ad ann. 1152.

‡ *S. Bernardi epistolæ*, 288, 289, 392, ed. Mabillon.

The same year, at the siege of Ascalon, the Master of the Temple and his knights attempted alone and unaided to take that important city by storm. At the dawn of day they rushed through a breach made in the walls, and penetrated to the centre of the town. There they were surrounded by the infidels and overpowered, and, according to the testimony of an eye-witness, who was in the campaign from its commencement to its close, not a single Templar escaped: they were slain to a man, and the dead bodies of the Master and his ill-fated knights were exposed in triumph from the walls.*

BERTRAND DE BLANQUEFORT. A. D. 1154.

De Tremelay was succeeded (A. D. 1154) by Brother Bertrand de Blanquefort, a knight of a noble family of Guienne, called by William of Tyre a pious and God-fearing man.

The Templars continued to be the foremost in every encounter with the Mussulmen, and the Monkish writers exult in the number of infidels they sent to *hell*. A proportionate number of the fraternity must at the same time have ascended to *heaven*, for the slaughter amongst them was terrific. On Tuesday, June 19, A. D. 1156, they were drawn into an ambuscade whilst marching with Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, near Tiberias, three hundred of the brethren were slain on the field of battle, and eighty-seven fell into the hands of the enemy, among whom was Bertrand de Blanquefort himself, and Brother Odo, marshal of the kingdom.† Shortly afterwards, thirty Knights Templars put to flight, slaughtered, and

* *Anselmi Gemblacensis Chron.* ad ann. 1153. *Will. Tyr.* lib. xvii. cap. 27.

† Captus est inter cæteros ibi Bertrandus de Blanquefort, Magister Militiæ Templi, vir religiosus ac timens Deum. *Will. Tyr.* lib. xviii. cap. 14. *Registr. epist.* apud *Martene* vet. script. tom. ii. col. 647.

captured, two hundred infidels ;* and in a night attack on the camp of Noureddin, they compelled that famous chieftain to fly, without arms and half-naked, from the field of battle. In this last affair the names of Robert Mansel, an Englishman, and Gilbert de Lacy, preceptor of the Temple of Tripoli, are honourably mentioned.† The services of the Templars were gratefully acknowledged in Europe, and the Pope, in a letter written in their behalf to the Archbishop of Rheims, his legate in France, characterizes them as "New Maccabees, far famed and most valiant champions of the Lord." "The assistance," says the Pope, "rendered by those holy warriors to all Christendom, their zeal and valour, and untiring exertions in defending from the persecution and subtilty of the filthy Pagans, those sacred places which have been enlightened by the corporal presence of our Saviour, we doubt not have been spread abroad throughout the world, and are known, not only to the neighbouring nations, but to all those who dwell at the remotest corners of the earth." The holy pontiff exhorts the archbishop to procure for them all the succour possible, both in men and horses, and to exert himself in their favour among all his suffragan bishops.‡

BERTRAND DE BLANQUEFORT. A. D. 1154.

The fiery zeal and warlike enthusiasm of the Templars were equalled, if not surpassed, by the stern fanaticism and religious ardour of the followers of Mahomet. "Noureddin fought," says

* Milites Templi circa triginta, ducentos Paganorum euntes ad nuphas verterent in fugam, et divino præsidio comitante, omnes partim ceperunt, partim gladio trucidarunt. *Registr. epist. ut sup.* col. 647.

† *Will. Tyr.* lib. xix. cap. 8.

‡ *Epist.* xvi. S. Remensi archiepiscopo et ejus suffraganeis pro ecclesia Jerosolymitana et militibus Templi, apud *Martene vet. script.* tom. ii. col. 647.

BERTRAND DE BLANQUEFORT. A. D. 1154.

his oriental biographer, "like the meanest of his soldiers, saying, 'Alas! it is now a long time that I have been seeking martyrdom without being able to obtain it.' The Imaum Koteb-ed-din, hearing him on one occasion utter these words, exclaimed, 'In the name of God do not put your life in danger, do not thus expose Islam and the Moslems. Thou art their stay and support, and if (but God preserve us therefrom) thou shouldest be slain, it will be all up with us.' 'Ah! Koteb-ed-deen,' said he, 'what hast thou said, who can save *Islam** and our country, but that great God who has no equal?' 'What,' said he, on another occasion, 'do we not look to the security of our houses against robbers and plunderers, and shall we not defend religion?'"†

Like the Templars, Noureddin fought constantly with spiritual and with carnal weapons. He resisted the world and its temptations by fasting and prayer, and by the daily exercise of the moral and religious duties and virtues inculcated by the Koran. He fought with the sword against the foes of Islam, and employed his whole energies, to the last hour of his life, in the enthusiastic and fanatic struggle for the recovery of Jerusalem.‡

The close points of resemblance, indeed, between the religious fanaticism of the Templars and that of the Moslems are striking and remarkable. In the Moslem camp, we are told by the Arabian

* *Islam*, the name of the Mahometan religion. The word signifies literally, delivering oneself up to God.

† Keightley's Crusaders.

‡ The virtues of Noureddin are celebrated by the Arabic Historian *Ben-Schunah*, in his *Raoudhat Almenadhir*, by *Azzeddin Ebn-al-athir*, by *Khondemir*, and in the work entiled, "The flowers of the two gardens," by *Omaddeddin Kateb*. See also *Will. Tyr.* lib. xx. cap. 33.

writers, all profane and frivolous conversation was severely prohibited; the exercises of religion were assiduously practised, and the intervals of action were employed in prayer, meditation, and the study of the Koran. BERTRAND DEBLANQUEFORT. A. D. 1154.

The Templars style themselves "The Avengers of Jesus Christ," and the "instruments and ministers of God for the punishment of infidels," and the Pope and the holy fathers of the church proclaim that it is specially entrusted to them "to blot out from the earth all unbelievers," and they hold out the joys of paradise as the glorious reward for the dangers and difficulties of the task.* "In fighting for Christ," declares St. Bernard, in his address to the Templars, "the kingdom of Christ is acquired. . . . . Go forth, therefore, O soldiers, in nowise mistrusting, and with a fearless spirit cast down the enemies of the cross of Christ, in the certain assurance that neither in life nor in death can ye be separated from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus, repeating to yourselves in every danger, whether we live or whether we die we are the Lord's. How gloriously do the victors return from the fight, how happy do the martyrs die in battle! Rejoice, valiant champion, if thou livest and conquerest in the Lord, but rejoice rather and glory if thou shouldest die and be joined unto the Lord. . . . . If those are happy who die *in* the Lord, how much more are those who die *for* the Lord! . . . Precious in the sight of God will be the death of his holy soldiers."

"The *sword*," says the prophet Mahomet, on the other hand, "is the key of heaven and of hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two

* *Regula*, cap. xlviii.

BERTRAND DEBLANQUEFORT. A. D. 1156.

months of fasting and of prayer. Whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven him at the day of judgment. His wounds will be resplendent as vermilion, and odoriferous as musk, and the loss of limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and of cherubims."

Thus writes the famous Caliph Abubeker, the successor of Mahomet, to the Arabian tribes:

"In the name of the most merciful GOD, *Abdollah Athich Ib'n Abi Kohapha*, to the rest of the true believers." . . . . . "This is to acquaint you, that I intend to send the true believers into Syria, to take it out of the hands of the infidels, and I would have you to know, that *the fighting for religion is an act of obedience to* GOD."

"Remember," said the same successor of the prophet and commander of the faithful, to the holy warriors who had assembled in obedience to his mandate, "that you are always in the presence of God, on the verge of death, in the assurance of judgment, and the hope of paradise. . . . . When you fight *the battles of the Lord*, acquit yourselves like men, and turn not your backs."

The prowess and warlike daring of the Templars in the field are thus described by St. Bernard:

"When the conflict has begun, then at length they throw aside their former meekness and gentleness, exclaiming, *Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee, and am I not grieved with those who rise up against thee?* They rush in upon their adversaries, they scatter them like sheep, in nowise fearing, though few in number, the fierce barbarism or the immense multitude of the enemy. They have learned indeed to rely, not on their own strength, but to count on victory through the aid of the Lord God of Sabaoth, to whom they believe it easy enough, according to the words of Maccabees, to

make an end of many by the hands of a few, for victory in battle dependeth not on the multitude of the army, but on the strength given from on high, which, indeed, they have very frequently experienced, since one of them will pursue a thousand, and two will put to flight ten thousand. Yea, and lastly, in a wonderful and remarkable manner, they are observed to be both more gentle than *lambs*, and more fierce than *lions*, so that I almost doubt which I had better determine to call them, monks forsooth, or soldiers, unless perhaps, as more fitting, I should name them both the one and the other." BERTRAND DE BLANQUEFORT. A. D. 1156.

At a later period, Cardinal de Vitry, Bishop of Acre, the frequent companion of the Knights Templars on their military expeditions, thus describes their religious and military enthusiasm on the eve of battle: "When summoned to arms they never demand the number of the enemy, but where are they? Lions they are in war, gentle lambs in the convent; fierce soldiers in the field, hermits and monks in religion; to the enemies of Christ ferocious and inexorable, but to Christians kind and gracious. They carry before them," says he, "to battle, a banner, half black and white, which they call *Beau-seant*, that is to say, in the Gallic tongue, *Bien-seant*, because they are fair and favourable to the friends of Christ, but black and terrible to his enemies."*

Among the many instances of the fanatical ardour of the Moslem warriors, are the following, extracted from the history of *Abu Ábdollah Alwakidi*, Cadi of Bagdad. "Methinks," said a valiant Saracen

* Vexillum bipartitum ex Albo et Nigro quod nominant *Beau-seant* id est Gallicâ linguâ *Bien-seant*; eo quod Christi amicis candidi sunt et benigni, inimicis vero terribiles atque nigri. *Jac. de Vitr. Hist. Hierosol. apud Gesta Dei*, cap. lxv. The idea is quite an oriental one, black and white being always used among the Arabs metaphorically, in the sense above described. Their customary salutation is, May your day be *white*, i. e. may you be happy.

BERTRAND DE BLANQUEFORT. A. D. 1158.

youth, in the heat of battle against the Christians under the walls of Emesa—"methinks I see the black-eyed girls looking upon me, one of whom, should she appear in this world, all mankind would die for love of her; and I see in the hand of one of them a handkerchief of green silk, and a cap made of precious stones, and she beckons me, and calls out, Come hither quickly, for I love thee." With these words, charging the infidels, he made havoc wherever he went, until he was at last struck down by a javelin. "It is not," said a dying Arabian warrior, when he embraced for the last time his sister and mother—" it is not the fading pleasure of this world that has prompted me to devote my life in the cause of religion, I seek the favour of God and his apostle, and I have heard from one of the companions of the prophet, that the spirits of the martyrs will be lodged in the crops of green birds who taste the fruits and drink of the waters of paradise. Farewell; we shall meet again among the groves and the fountains which God has prepared for his elect.*

The Master of the Temple, Brother Bertrand de Blanquefort, was liberated from captivity at the instance of Manuel Comnenus, Emperor of Constantinople.† After his release he wrote several letters to Louis VII., king of France, describing the condition and prospects of the Holy Land; the increasing power and boldness of the infidels; and the ruin and desolation caused by a dreadful earthquake, which had overthrown numerous castles, prostrated the walls and defences of several towns, and swallowed up the dwellings of the

* *Alwakidi Arab. Hist.* translated by Ockley. *Hist. Saracen.* It refers to a period antecedent to the crusades, but the same religio-military enthusiasm prevailed during the holy war for the recovery of Jerusalem.

† *Cinnamus*, lib. iv. num. 22.

inhabitants. "The persecutors of the church," says he, "hasten to avail themselves of our misfortunes; they gather themselves together from the ends of the earth, and come forth as one man against the sanctuary of God."* BERTRAND DEBLANQUE-FORT. A. D. 1159.

It was during his mastership, that Geoffrey, the Knight Templar, and Hugh of Cæsarea, were sent on an embassy into Egypt, and had an interview with the Caliph. They were introduced into the palace of the Fatimites through a series of gloomy passages and glittering porticos, amid the warbling of birds and the murmur of fountains; the scene was enriched by a display of costly furniture and rare animals; and the long order of unfolding doors was guarded by black soldiers and domestic eunuchs. The sanctuary of the presence chamber was veiled with a curtain, and the vizier who conducted the ambassadors laid aside his scimetar, and prostrated himself three times on the ground; the veil was then removed, and they saw the Commander of the Faithful.†

Brother Bertrand de Blanquefort, in his letters to the king of France, gives an account of the military operations undertaken by the Order of the Temple in Egypt, and of the capture of the populous and important city of Belbeis, the ancient Pelusium.‡ During the absence of the Master with the greater part of the fraternity on that expedition, the sultan Noureddin invaded Palestine; he defeated with terrible slaughter the serving brethren and Turcopoles, or light horse of the order, who remained to defend the country,

* *Gesta Dei*, inter regum et principum epistolas, tom. i. p. 1173, 6, 7. *Hist. Franc. Script.* tom. iv. p. 692, 693.

† Hist. de Saladin, par *M. Marin*, tome i. p. 120, 1. *Gibbon*, cap. 59.

‡ *Gesta Dei*, epist. xiv. p. 1178, 9.

BERTRAND DEBLANQUEFORT. A.D. 1164.

and sixty of the knights who commanded them were left dead on the plain.*

The zeal and devotion of the Templars in the service of Christ continued to be the theme of praise and of admiration both in the east and in the west. Pope Alexander III., in his letters, characterizes them as the stout champions of Jesus Christ, who warred a divine warfare, and daily laid down their lives for their brethren. "We implore and we admonish your fraternity," says he, addressing the archbishops and bishops, "that out of love to God, and of reverence to the blessed Peter and ourselves, and also out of regard to the salvation of your own souls, ye do favour, and support, and honour them, and preserve all their rights entire and intact, and afford them the benefit of your patronage and protection."†

Amalric, king of Jerusalem, the successor of Baldwin the Third, in a letter "to his dear friend and father," Louis the Seventh, king of France, beseeches the good offices of that monarch in behalf of all the devout Christians of the Holy Land; "but above all," says he, "we earnestly entreat your Majesty constantly to extend to the utmost your favour and regard to the Brothers of the Temple, who continually render up their lives for God and the faith, and through whom we do the little that we are able to effect, for in them indeed, after God, is placed the entire reliance of all those in the eastern regions who tread in the right path." . . . .‡

* De fratribus nostris ceciderunt LX. milites fortissimi, præter frates clientes et Turcopulos, nec nisi *septem* tantum evasêre periculum. Epist. *Gauf Fulcherii* procuratoris Templi Ludovico regi Francorum. *Gesta Dei*, tom. i. p. 1182, 3, 4.

† Registr. epist. apud *Martene*, vel script. tom. ii. col. 846, 847, 883.

‡ "..... præcipue pro fratribus Templi, vestram exoramus Majestatem..... qui quotidie

The Master, Brother Bertrand de Blanquefort, was succeeded, (A. D. 1167,) by Philip of Naplous, the first Master of the Temple who had been born in Palestine. He had been Lord of the fortresses of Krak and Montreal in Arabia Petræa, and took the vows and the habit of the order of the Temple after the death of his wife.*

PHILIP OF NAPLOUS. A. D. 1167.

We must now pause to take a glance at the rise of another great religio-military institution which, from henceforth, takes a leading part in the defence of the Latin kingdom.

In the eleventh century, when pilgrimages to Jerusalem had greatly increased, some Italian merchants of Amalfi, who carried on a lucrative trade with Palestine, purchased of the Caliph *Monstasser-billah*, a piece of ground in the Christian quarter of the Holy City, near the church of the Resurrection, whereon two hospitals were constructed, the one being appropriated for the reception of male pilgrims, and the other for females. Several pious and charitable Christians, chiefly from Europe, devoted themselves in these hospitals to constant attendance upon the sick and destitute. Two chapels were erected, the one annexed to the female establishment being dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, and the other to St. John the Eleemosynary, a canonized patriarch of Alexandria, remarkable for his exceeding charity. The pious and kind-hearted people who here attended upon the sick pilgrims, clothed the naked and fed the hungry, were called "The Hospitallers of St. John."

moriuntur pro Domino et servitio, et per quos possumus, si quid possumus. In illis enim tota summa post Deum consistit omnium eorum, qui sano fiunt consilio in partibus orientis..." *Gesta Dei*, tom. i. epist. xxi. p. 1181. *Duchesne* hist. Franc. script. epist. cccixiv. p. 698.

* Dominus fuit Arabiæ secundæ, quæ est Petracensis, qui locus hodie Crach dicitur, et Syriæ Sobal..... factus est Magister Militiæ Templi.—*Will. Tyr.* lib. xxii. cap. 5.

PHILIP OF NAPLOUS. A. D. 1167.

On the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, these charitable persons were naturally regarded with the greatest esteem and reverence by their fellow-christians from the west; many of the soldiers of the Cross, smitten with their piety and zeal, desired to participate in their good offices, and the Hospitallers, animated by the religious enthusiasm of the day, determined to renounce the world, and devote the remainder of their lives to pious duties and constant attendance upon the sick. They took the customary monastic vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty, and assumed as their distinguishing habit a *black* mantle with a *white* cross on the breast. Various lands and possessions were granted them by the lords and princes of the Crusade, both in Palestine and in Europe, and the order of the hospital of St. John speedily became a great and powerful institution.*

Gerard, a native of Provence, was at this period at the head of the society, with the title of "Guardian of the Poor." He was succeeded (A. D. 1118) by Raymond Dupuy, a knight of Dauphiné, who drew up a series of rules for the direction and government of his brethren. In these rules no traces are discoverable of the military spirit which afterwards animated the order of the Hospital of St. John. The Abbé de Vertot, from a desire perhaps to pay court to the Order of Malta, carries back the assumption of arms by the Hospitallers to the year 1119, and describes them as fiercely engaged under the command of Raymond Dupuy, in the battle fought between the Christians and Dol de Kuvin, sultan of Damascus; but none of the historians of the period make any mention whatever of the Hospitallers in that action. De Vertot quotes no

* *Will. Tyr.* lib. xviii. cap. 4. 5.

authority in support of his statement, and it appears to be a mere fiction. PHILIP OF NAPLOUS. A. D. 1167.

The first authentic notice of an intention on the part of the Hospitallers to occupy themselves with military matters, occurs in the bull of Pope Innocent the Second, dated A. D. 1130. This bull is addressed to the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of the church universal, and informs them that the Hospitallers then retained, at their own expense, a body of horsemen and foot soldiers, to defend the pilgrims in going to and in returning from the holy places; the pope observes that the funds of the hospital were insufficient to enable them effectually to fulfil the pious and holy task, and he exhorts the archbishops, bishops, and clergy, to minister to the necessities of the order out of their abundant property.* The Hospitallers consequently at this period had resolved to add the task of *protecting* to that of tending and relieving pilgrims.

After the accession (A. D. 1168) of Gilbert d'Assalit to the guardianship of the Hospital—a man described by De Vertot as "bold and enterprising, and of an extravagant genius"—a military spirit was infused into the Hospitallers, which speedily predominated over their pious and charitable zeal in attending upon the poor and the sick. Gilbert d'Assalit was the friend and confidant of Amalric, king of Jerusalem, and planned with that monarch a wicked invasion of Egypt in defiance of treaties. The Master of

* Fratres ejusdem domus non formidantes pro fratribus suis animas ponere; cum servientibus et equitaturis *ad hoc officium specialiter deputatis et propriis sumptibus retentis*, tam in eundo, quam redeundo ab incursibus Paganorum defensant.—*De Vertot.* hist. des chev. de Malte, liv. i. preuve 9.

PHILIP OF NAPLOUS. A.D. 1167.

the Temple being consulted concerning the expedition, flatly refused to have anything to do with it, or to allow a single brother of the order of the Temple to accompany the king in arms; "For it appeared a hard matter to the Templars," says William of Tyre, "to wage war without cause, in defiance of treaties, and against all honour and conscience, upon a friendly nation, preserving faith with us, and relying on our own faith."* Gilbert d'Assalit consequently determined to obtain for the king from his own brethren that aid which the Templars denied; and to tempt the Hospitallers to arm themselves generally as a great military society, in imitation of the Templars,† and join the expedition to Egypt, Gilbert d'Assalit was authorised to promise them, in the name of the king, the possession of the wealthy and important city of Belbeis, the ancient Pelusium, in perpetual sovereignty.‡

According to De Vertot, the senior Hospitallers were greatly averse to the military projects of their chief: "They urged," says he, "that they were a religious order, and that the church had not put arms into their hands to make conquests;§ but the younger and more ardent of the brethren, burning to exchange the monotonous life of the cloister for the enterprise and activity of the camp, received the proposals of their superior with enthusiasm, and a majority

* *Will. Tyr.* lib. xx. cap. 5.

† Prædicti enim Hospitalis fratres *ad imitationem* fratrum militiæ Templi, armis materialibus utentes, milites cum servientibus in suo collegio receperunt.—*Jac. de Vit.* cap. lxv.

‡ *Will. Tyr.* lib. xx. cap 5.

§ This assumption of arms by the Hospitallers was entirely at variance with the original end and object of their institution. Pope Anastasius, in a bull dated A. D. 1154, observes, "omnia vestra *sustentationibus peregrinorum et pauperum* debent cedere, ac per hoc nullatenus aliis usibus ea convenit applicari."—*De Vertot*, liv. i. preuve 13.

of the chapter decided in favour of the plans and projects of their Guardian. They authorized him to borrow money of the Florentine and Genoese merchants, to take hired soldiers into the pay of the order, and to organize the Hospitallers as a great military society.

PHIDIP OF NAPLOUS. A. D. 1167.

Gilbert d'Assalit bestirred himself with great energy in the execution of these schemes; he wrote letters to the king of France for aid and assistance,* and borrowed money of the emperor of Constantinople. "Assalit," says De Vertot, "with this money levied a great body of troops, which he took into the pay of the order; and as his fancy was entirely taken up with flattering hopes of conquest, he drew by his indiscreet liberalities a great number of volunteers into his service, who like him shared already in imagination all the riches of Egypt."

It was in the first year of the government of Philip of Naplous (A. D. 1168) that the king of Jerusalem and the Hospitallers marched forth upon their memorable and unfortunate expedition. The Egyptians were taken completely by surprise; the city of Belbeis was carried by assault, and the defenceless inhabitants were barbarously massacred; "they spared," says De Vertot, "neither old men nor women, nor children at the breast," after which the desolated city was delivered up to the brethren of the Hospital of St. John. They held it, however, for a very brief period; the immorality, the cruelty, and the injustice of the Christians speedily met with condign punishment. The king of Jerusalem was driven back into Palestine; Belbeis was abandoned with precipitation; and the Hospitallers fled before the infidels in

* *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 1177.

PHILIP OF NABLOUS. A. D. 1168.

sorrow and disappointment to Jerusalem. There they vented their indignation and chagrin upon the unfortunate Gilbert d'Assalit, their superior, who had got the order into debt to the extent of 100,000 pieces of gold; they compelled him to resign his authority, and the unfortunate guardian of the hospital fled from Palestine to England, and was drowned in the Channel.*

From this period, however, the character of the order of the Hospital of St. John was entirely changed: the Hospitallers appear henceforth as a great military body; their superior styles himself Master, and leads in person the brethren into the field of battle. Attendance upon the poor and the sick still continued, indeed, one of the duties of the fraternity, but it must have been feebly exercised amid the clash of arms and the excitement of war.

* *Will. Tyr.* lib. xx. cap. 5. *Howeden* in Hen. 2, p. 622. *De Vertot*, Hist. des Chevaliers de Malte, liv. ii. p. 150 to 161, ed. 1726.

## CHAPTER IV.

The contests between Saladin and the Templars—The vast privileges of the Templars—The publication of the bull, *omne datum optimum*—The Pope declares himself the immediate Bishop of the entire Order—The different classes of Templars—The knights—Priests—Serving brethren—The hired soldiers—The great officers of the Temple—Punishment of cowardice—The Master of the Temple is taken prisoner, and dies in a dungeon—Saladin's great successes—The Christians purchase a truce—The Master of the Temple and the Patriarch Heraclius proceed to England for succour—The consecration of the TEMPLE CHURCH AT LONDON.

"The firmest bulwark of Jerusalem was founded on the knights of the Hospital of St. John and of the Temple of Solomon; on the strange association of a monastic and military life, which fanaticism might suggest, but of which policy must approve. The flower of the nobility of Europe aspired to wear the cross and profess the vows of these respectable orders; their spirit and discipline were immortal; and the speedy donation of twenty-eight thousand farms or manors enabled them to support a regular force of cavalry and infantry for the defence of Palestine."—*Gibbon.*

ODO DE ST. AMAND. A. D. 1170.

THE Master, Philip of Naplous, resigned his authority after a short government of three years, and was succeeded by Brother Odo de St. Amand, a proud and fiery warrior, of undaunted courage and resolution; having, according to William, Archbishop of Tyre, the fear neither of God nor of man before his eyes.*

* *Will. Tyr.* lib. xxi. cap. 29.

Odo de St. Amand. A. D. 1170.

The Templars were now destined to meet with a more formidable opponent than any they had hitherto encountered in the field, one who was again to cause the crescent to triumph over the cross, and to plant the standard of the prophet upon the walls of the holy city.

When the Fatimite caliph had received intelligence of Amalric's invasion of Egypt, he sent the hair of his women, one of the greatest tokens of distress known in the East, to the pious Noureddin, who immediately despatched a body of troops to his assistance, headed by Sheerkoh, and his nephew, *Youseef-Ben-Acoub-Ben-Schadi*, the famous Saladin. Sheerkoh died immediately after his arrival, and Youseef succeeded to his command, and was appointed vizier of the caliph. Youseef had passed his youth in pleasure and debauchery, sloth and indolence: he had quitted with regret the delights of Damascus for the dusty plains of Egypt; and but for the unjustifiable expedition of King Amalric and the Hospitallers against the infidels, the powerful talents and the latent energies of the young Courdish chieftain, which altogether changed the face of affairs in the East, would in all probability never have been developed.

As soon as Youseef grasped the power of the sword, and obtained the command of armies, he threw off the follies of his youth, and led a new life. He renounced the pleasures of the world, and assumed the character of a saint. His dress was a coarse woollen garment; water was his only drink; and he carefully abstained from everything disapproved of by the Mussulman religion. Five times each day he prostrated himself in public prayer, surrounded by his friends and followers, and his demeanour became grave, serious, and

thoughtful. He fought vigorously with spiritual weapons against the temptations of the world; his nights were often spent in watching and meditation, and he was always diligent in fasting and in the study of the Koran. With the same zeal he combated with carnal weapons the foes of Islam, and his admiring brethren gave him the name of *Salah-ed-deen*, "Integrity of Religion," vulgarly called Saladin. ODO DE ST. AMAND. A. D. 1170.

At the head of forty thousand horse and foot, he crossed the desert and ravaged the borders of Palestine; the wild Bedouins and the enthusiastic Arabians of the far south were gathered together under his standard, and hastened with holy zeal to obtain the crown of martyrdom in defence of the faith. The long remembered and greatly dreaded Arab shout of onset, *Allah acbar*, GOD *is victorious*, again resounded through the plains and the mountains of Palestine, and the grand religious struggle for the possession of the holy city of Jerusalem, equally reverenced by Mussulmen and by Christians, was once more vigorously commenced. Saladin besieged the fortified city of Gaza, which belonged to the Knights Templars, and was considered to be the key of Palestine towards Egypt. The luxuriant gardens, the palm and olive groves of this city of the wilderness, were destroyed by the wild cavalry of the desert, and the innumerable tents of the Arab host were thickly clustered on the neighbouring sand-hills. The warlike monks of the Temple fasted and prayed, and invoked the aid of the God of battles; the gates of the city were thrown open, and in an unexpected sally upon the enemy's camp they performed such prodigies of valour, that Saladin, despairing of being able to take the place, abandoned the siege, and retired into Egypt.*

* *Will. Tyr.* lib. xx. xxi. xxii.

Odo de St. Amand. A. D. 1172.

The year following, Pope Alexander's famous bull, *omne datum optimum*, confirming the previous privileges of the Templars, and conferring upon them additional powers and immunities, was published in England. It commences in the following terms:

"Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved sons, Odo, Master of the religious chivalry of the Temple, which is situated at Jerusalem, and to his successors, and to all the regularly professed brethren.

"Every good gift and every perfect reward* cometh from above, descending from the Father of light, with whom there is no change, nor shadow of turning. Therefore, O beloved children in the Lord, we praise the Almighty God, in respect of your holy fraternity, since your religion and venerated institution are celebrated throughout the entire world. For although by nature ye are children of wrath, and slaves to the pleasures of this life, yet by a favouring grace ye have not remained deaf hearers of the gospel, but, throwing aside all earthly pomps and enjoyments, and rejecting the broad road which leadeth unto death, ye have humbly chosen the arduous path to everlasting life. Faithfully fulfilling the character of soldiery of the Lord, ye constantly carry upon your breasts the sign of the life-giving cross. Moreover, like true Israelites, and most instructed fighters of the divine battle, inflamed with true charity, ye fulfil by your works the word of the gospel which saith, 'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends;' so that, in obedience to the voice of the great Shepherd, ye in nowise fear to lay down your lives for your brethren, and to defend them from the inroad of the pagans; and ye may well

* *Omne datum optimum* et omne donum perfectum desursum est, descendens a Patre luminum, apud quem non est transmutatio, nec vicissitudinis obumbratio.

be termed holy warriors, since ye have been appointed by the Lord defenders of the catholic church and combatants of the enemies of Christ." ODO DE ST. AMAND. A. D. 1172.

After this preamble, the pope earnestly exhorts the Templars to pursue with unceasing diligence their high vocation; to defend the eastern church with their whole hearts and souls, and to strike down the enemies of the cross of Christ. "By the authority of God, and the blessed Peter, prince of apostles," says the holy pontiff, "we have ordained and do determine, that the Temple in which ye are gathered together to the praise and glory of God, for the defence of the faithful, and the deliverance of the church, shall remain for evermore under the safeguard and protection of the holy apostolic see, together with all the goods and possessions which ye now lawfully enjoy, and all that ye may hereafter rightfully obtain, through the liberality of christian kings and princes, and the alms and oblations of the faithful.

"We moreover by these presents decree, that the regular discipline, which, by divine favour, hath been instituted in your house, shall be inviolably observed, and that the brethren who have there dedicated themselves to the service of the omnipotent God, shall live together in chastity, and without property; and making good their profession both in word and deed, they shall remain subject and obedient in all things to the Master, or to him whom the Master shall have set in authority over them.

"Moreover, as the chief house at Jerusalem hath been the source and fountain of your sacred institution and order, the Master thereof shall always be considered the head and chief of all the houses and places appertaining thereunto. And we further decree, that at the

Odo de St. Amand. A. D. 1172.

decease of Odo, our beloved son in the Lord, and of each one of his successors, no man shall be set in authority over the brethren of the same house, except he be of the religious and military order; and has regularly professed your habit and fellowship; and has been chosen by all the brethren unanimously, or, at all events, by the greater part of them.

"And from henceforth it shall not be permitted to any ecclesiastical or secular person to infringe or diminish the customs and observances of your religion and profession, as instituted by the Master and brethren in common; and those rules which have been put into writing and observed by you for some time past, shall not be changed or altered except by the authority of the Master, with the consent of the majority of the chapter.

" . . . . No ecclesiastic or secular person shall dare to exact from the Master and Brethren of the Temple, oaths, guarantees, or any such securities as are ordinarily required from the laity.

"Since your sacred institution and religious chivalry have been established by divine Providence, it is not fit that you should enter into any other order with the view of leading a more religious life, for God, who is immutable and eternal, approveth not the inconstant heart; but wisheth rather the good purpose, when once begun, to be persevered in to the end of life.

"How many and great persons have pleased the lord of an earthly empire, under the military girdle and habit! How many and distinguished men, gathered together in arms, have bravely fought, in these our times, in the cause of the gospel of God, and in defence of the laws of our Father; and, consecrating their hands in the blood of the unbelievers in the Lord, have, after their pains and toil in

this world's warfare, obtained the reward of everlasting life! Do ye, therefore, both knights and serving brethren, assiduously pay attention to your profession, and in accordance with the saying of the apostle, 'Let each one of you stedfastly remain in the vocation to which you have been called.' We therefore ordain, that when your brethren have once taken the vows, and have been received in your sacred college, and have taken upon themselves your warfare, and the habit of your religion, they shall no longer have the power of returning again to the world; nor can any, after they have once made profession, abjure the cross and habit of your religion, with the view of entering another convent or monastery of stricter or more lax discipline, without the consent of the brethren, or Master, or of him whom the Master hath set in authority over them; nor shall any ecclesiastic or secular person be permitted to receive or retain them.

ODO DE ST. AMAND. A. D. 1172.

"And since those who are defenders of the church ought to be supported and maintained out of the good things of the church, we prohibit all manner of men from exacting tithes from you, in respect of your moveables or immoveables, or any of the goods and possessions appertaining unto your venerable house.

"And that nothing may be wanting to the plenitude of your salvation, and the care of your souls; and that ye may more commodiously hear divine service, and receive the sacraments in your sacred college; we in like manner ordain, that it shall be lawful for you to admit within your fraternity, honest and godly clergymen and priests, as many as ye may conscientiously require; and to receive them from whatever parts they may come, as well in your chief house at Jerusalem, as in all the other houses and places de-

Odo de St. Amand. A. D. 1172.

pending upon it, so that they do not belong to any other religious profession or order, and so that ye ask them of the bishop, if they come from the neighbourhood; but if peradventure the bishop should refuse, yet nevertheless ye have permission to receive and retain them by the authority of the holy apostolic see.

"If any of these, after they have been professed, should turn out to be useless, or should become disturbers of your house and religion, it shall be lawful for you, with the consent of the major part of the chapter, to remove them, and give them leave to enter any other order where they may wish to live in the service of God, and to substitute others in their places who shall undergo a probation of one year in your society; which term being completed, if their morals render them worthy of your fellowship, and they shall be found fit and proper for your service, then let them make the regular profession of life according to your rule, and of obedience to their Master, so that they have their food and clothing, and also their lodging, with the fraternity.

"But it shall not be lawful for them presumptuously to take part in the consultations of your chapter, or in the government of your house; they are permitted to do so, so far only as they are enjoined by yourselves. And as regards the cure of souls, they are to occupy themselves with that business so far only as they are required. Moreover, they shall be subject to no person, power, or authority, excepting that of your own chapter, but let them pay perfect obedience, in all matters and upon all occasions, to thee our beloved son in the Lord, Odo, and to thy successors, as their *Master* and *Bishop*.

"We moreover decree, that it shall be lawful for you to send your

clerks, when they are to be admitted to holy orders, for ordination, to whatever catholic bishop you may please, who, clothed with our apostolical power, will grant them what they require; but we forbid them to preach with a view of obtaining money, or for any temporal purpose whatever, unless perchance the Master of the Temple for the time being should cause it to be done for some special purpose. And whosoever of these are received into your college, they must make the promise of stedfastness of purpose, of reformation of morals, and that they will fight for the Lord all the days of their lives, and render strict obedience to the Master of the Temple; the book in which these things are contained being placed upon the altar.

ODO DE ST. AMAND. A.D. 1172.

"We moreover, without detracting from the rights of the bishops in respect of tithes, oblations, and buryings, concede to you the power of constructing oratories in the places bestowed upon the sacred house of the Temple, where you and your retainers and servants may dwell; so that both ye and they may be able to assist at the divine offices, and receive there the right of sepulture; for it would be unbecoming and very dangerous to the souls of the religious brethren, if they were to be mixed up with a crowd of secular persons, and be brought into the company of women on the occasion of their going to church. But as to the tithes, which, by the advice and with the consent of the bishops, ye may be able by your zeal to draw out of the hands of the clergy or laity, and those which with the consent of the bishops ye may acquire from their own clergy, we confirm to you by our apostolical authority."

The above bull further provides, in various ways, for the temporal and spiritual advantage of the Templars, and expressly extends the

Odo de St. Amand. A. D. 1172.

favours and indulgences, and the apostolical blessings, to all the serving brethren, as well as to the knights. It also confers upon the fraternity the important privilege of causing the churches of towns and villages lying under sentence of interdict to be opened once a year, and divine service to be celebrated within them.*.

A bull exactly similar to the above appears to have been issued by Pope Alexander, on the seventh id. Jan. A. D. 1162, addressed to the Master Bertrand de Blanquefort.† Both the above instruments are to a great extent merely confirmatory of the privileges previously conceded to the Templars.

The exercise or the abuse of these powers and immunities speedily brought the Templars into collision with the ecclesiastics. At the general council of the church, held at Rome, (A. D. 1179,) called the third of Lateran, a grave reprimand was addressed to them by the holy Fathers. "We find," say they, "by the frequent complaints of the bishops our colleagues, that the Templars and Hospitallers abuse the privileges granted them by the Holy See; that the chaplains and priests of their rule have caused parochial churches to be conveyed over to themselves without the ordinaries' consent; that they administer the sacraments to excommunicated persons, and bury them with all the usual ceremonies of the church: that they likewise abuse the permission granted the brethren of having divine service said once a year in places under interdict, and that they admit seculars into their fraternity, pretending thereby to give them the same right to their privileges as if they were really professed." To provide a remedy for these irregularities, the council

* Acta Rymeri, tom. i. ad ann. 1172, p. 30, 31, 32.

† *Wilcke*, Geschichte des Tempelherrenordens, vol. ii. p. 230.

forbad the military orders to receive for the future any conveyances of churches and tithes without the ordinaries' consent; that with regard to churches not founded by themselves, nor served by the chaplains of the order, they should present the priests they designed for the cure of them to the bishop of the diocese, and reserve nothing to themselves but the cognizance of the temporals which belonged to them; that they should not cause service to be said, in churches under interdict, above once a year, nor give burial there to any person whatever; and that none of their fraternity or *associates* should be allowed to partake of their privileges, if not actually professed.*

Odo de St. Amand. A.D. 1172.

Several bishops from Palestine were present at this council, together with the archbishop of Cæsarea, and William archbishop of Tyre, the great historian of the Latin kingdom.

The order of the Temple was at this period divided into the three great classes of knights, priests, and serving brethren, all bound together by their vow of obedience to the Master of the Temple at Jerusalem, the chief of the entire fraternity. Every candidate for admission into the first class must have received the honour of knighthood in due form, according to the laws of chivalry, before he could be admitted to the vows; and as no person of low degree could be advanced to the honours of knighthood, the brethren of the first class, i. e. the *Knights* Templars, were all men of noble birth and of high courage. Previous to the council of Troyes, the order consisted of knights only, but the rule framed by the holy fathers enjoins the admission of esquires and retainers to the vows, in the following terms.

* Concil. Lat. cap. 9.

ODO DE ST, AMAND. A.D. 1172.

"LXI. We have known many out of divers provinces, as well retainers as esquires, fervently desiring for the salvation of their souls to be admitted for life into our house. It is expedient, therefore, that you admit them to the vows, lest perchance the old enemy should suggest something to them whilst in God's service by stealth or unbecomingly, and should suddenly drive them from the right path." Hence arose the great class of serving brethren, (*fratres servientes,*) who attended the knights into the field both on foot and on horseback, and added vastly to the power and military reputation of the order. The serving brethren were armed with bows, bills, and swords; it was their duty to be always near the person of the knight, to supply him with fresh weapons or a fresh horse in case of need, and to render him every succour in the affray. The esquires of the knights were generally serving brethren of the order, but the services of secular persons might be accepted.

The order of the Temple always had in its pay a large number of retainers, and of mercenary troops; both cavalry and infantry, which were officered by the knights. These were clothed in black or brown garments, that they might, in obedience to the rule,* be plainly distinguished from the professed soldiers of Christ, who were habited in white. The black or brown garment was directed to be worn by all connected with the Templars who had not been admitted to the vows, that the holy soldiers might not suffer, in character or reputation, from the irregularities of secular men their dependents.†

The white mantle of the Templars was a regular monastic habit,

* Regula, cap. 20. † Cap. 21, 22.

having the red cross on the left breast; it was worn over armour of chain mail, and could be looped up so as to leave the sword-arm at full liberty. On his head the Templar wore a white linen coif, and over that a small round cap made of red cloth. When in the field, an iron scull-cap was probably added. We must now take a glance at the military organization of the order of the Temple, and of the chief officers of the society.

Odo de St. Amand. A. D. 1172.

Next in power and authority to the Master stood the Marshal, who was charged with the execution of the military arrangements on the field of battle. He was second in command, and in case of the death of the Master, the government of the order devolved upon him until the new superior was elected. It was his duty to provide arms, tents, horses, and mules, and all the necessary appendages of war.

The Prior or Preceptor of the kingdom of Jerusalem, also styled "Grand Preceptor of the Temple," had the immediate superintendence over the chief house of the order in the holy city. He was the treasurer general of the society, and had charge of all the receipts and expenditure. During the absence of the Master from Jerusalem, the entire government of the Temple devolved upon him.

The Draper was charged with the clothing department, and had to distribute garments "free from the suspicion of arrogance and superfluity" to all the brethren. He is directed to take especial care that the habits be "neither too long nor too short, but properly measured for the wearer, with equal measure, and with brotherly regard, that the eye of the whisperer or the accuser may not presume to notice anything." *

* Chap. 26, 27, of the rule.

Odo de St. Amand. A. D. 1172.

The Standard Bearer (*Balcanifer*) bore the glorious *Beauseant*, or war-banner, to the field; he was supported by a certain number of knights and esquires, who were sworn to protect the colours of the order, and never to let them fall into the hands of the enemy.

The Turcopilar was the commander of a body of light horse called Turcopoles (*Turcopuli.*) These were natives of Syria and Palestine, the offspring frequently of Turkish mothers and christian fathers, brought up in the religion of Christ, and retained in the pay of the order of the Temple. They were lightly armed, were clothed in the Asiatic style, and being inured to the climate, and well acquainted with the country, and with the Mussulman mode of warfare, they were found extremely serviceable as light cavalry and skirmishers, and were always attached to the war-battalions of the Templars.

The Guardian of the Chapel (*Custos Capellæ*) had charge of the portable chapel and the ornaments of the altar, which were always carried by the Templars into the field. This portable chapel was a round tent, which was pitched in the centre of the camp; the quarters of the brethren were disposed around it, so that they might, in the readiest and most convenient manner, participate in the divine offices, and fulfil the religious duties of their profession.

Besides the Grand Preceptor of the kingdom of Jerusalem, there were the Grand Preceptors of Antioch and Tripoli, and the Priors or Preceptors of the different houses of the Temple in Syria and in Palestine, all of whom commanded in the field, and had various military duties to perform under the eye of the Master.

The Templars and the Hospitallers were the constituted guardians of the true cross when it was brought forth from its sacred repository in the church of the Resurrection to be placed at the head of the christian army. The Templars marched on the right of the sacred emblem, and the Hospitallers on the left, and the same position was taken up by the two orders in the line of battle.* ODO DE ST. AMAND. A. D. 1172.

An eye-witness of the conduct of the Templars in the field tells us that they were always foremost in the fight and the last in the retreat; that they proceeded to battle with the greatest order, silence, and circumspection, and carefully attended to the commands of their Master. When the signal to engage had been given by their chief, and the trumpets of the order sounded to the charge, "then," says he, "they humbly sing the psalm of David, *Non nobis, non nobis, Domine, sed nomini tuo da gloriam,* 'Not unto us, not unto us, O Lord, but unto thy name give the praise;' and placing their lances in rest, they either break the enemy's line or die. If any one of them should by chance turn back, or bear himself less manfully than he ought, the white mantle, the emblem of their order, is ignominiously stripped off his shoulders, the cross worn by the fraternity is taken away from him, and he is cast out from the fellowship of the brethren; he is compelled to eat on the ground without a napkin or a table-cloth for the space of one year; and the dogs who gather around him and torment him he is not permitted to drive away. At the expiration of the year, if he be truly penitent, the Master and the brethren restore to him the military girdle and his pristine habit and cross, and receive him again into the fellowship and com-

* *Jac. de Vitr.* Hist. Orient. apud *Martene* thesaur. nov. anecdot. tom iii. col. 276, 277.

ODO DE ST. AMAND. A. D. 1172.

munity of the brethren. The Templars do indeed practise the observance of a stern religion, living in humble obedience to their Master, without property, and spending nearly all the days of their lives under tents in the open fields." * Such is the picture of the Templars drawn by one of the leading dignitaries of the Latin kingdom.

We must now resume our narrative of the principal events connected with the order.

In the year 1172, the Knight Templar Walter du Mesnil was guilty of a foul murder, which created a great sensation in the East. An odious religious sect, supposed to be descended from the Ismaelians of Persia, were settled in the fastnesses of the mountains above Tripoli. They devoted their souls and bodies in blind obedience to a chief who is called by the writers of the crusades "the old man of the mountain," and were employed by him in the most extensive system of murder and assassination known in the history of the world. Both Christian and Moslem writers enumerate with horror the many illustrious victims that fell beneath their daggers. They assumed all shapes and disguises for the furtherance of their deadly designs, and carried, in general, no arms except a small poniard concealed in the folds of their dress, called in the Persian tongue *hassissin*, whence these wretches were called *assassins*, their chief the prince of the assassins; and the word itself, in all its odious import, has passed into most European languages.†

* Narratio Patriarchæ Hierosolymitani coram summo Pontifice de statu Terræ Sanctæ. ex M. S. Cod. Bigotiano, apud *Martene* Thesaur. nov. anecdot. tom. iii. col. 276, 277.

† Dissertation sur les Assassins, Académie des Inscriptions tom. xvii. p. 127, 179. *De Guignes.* Hist. des Huns.—*Will. Tyr.* lib. xx. cap. 31.

Raimond, son of the count of Tripoli, was slain by these fanatics whilst kneeling at the foot of the altar in the church of the Blessed Virgin at Carchusa or Tortosa; the Templars flew to arms to avenge his death; they penetrated into the fastnesses and strongholds of "the mountain chief," and at last compelled him to purchase peace by the payment of an annual tribute of two thousand crowns into the treasury of the order. In the ninth year of Amalric's reign, *Sinan Ben Suleiman*, imaun of the assassins, sent a trusty counsellor to Jerusalem, offering, in the name of himself and his people, to embrace the christian religion, provided the Templars would release them from the tribute money. The proposition was favourably received; the envoy was honourably entertained for some days, and on his departure he was furnished by the king with a guide and an escort to conduct him in safety to the frontier. The Ismaelite had reached the borders of the Latin kingdom, and was almost in sight of the castles of his brethren, when he was cruelly murdered by the Knight Templar Walter du Mesnil, who attacked the escort with a body of armed followers.*

Odo de St. Amand. A. D. 1172.

The king of Jerusalem, justly incensed at this perfidious action, assembled the barons of the kingdom at Sidon to determine on the best means of obtaining satisfaction for the injury; and it was determined that two of their number should proceed to Odo de St. Amand to demand the surrender of the criminal. The haughty Master of the Temple bade them inform his majesty the king, that the members of the order of the Temple were not subject to his jurisdiction, nor to that of his officers; that the Templars

* *Jac. de Vitr.* Hist. Orient. lib. iii. p. 1142. *Will. Tyr.* lib. xx. cap. 32.

ODO DE ST. AMAND. A. D. 1175.

acknowledged no earthly superior except the Pope; and that to the holy pontiff alone belonged the cognizance of the offence. He declared, however, that the crime should meet with due punishment: that he had caused the criminal to be arrested and put in irons, and would forthwith send him to Rome, but till judgment was given in his case, he forbade all persons of whatsoever degree to meddle with him.*

Shortly afterwards, however, the Master found it expedient to alter his determination, and insist less strongly upon the privileges of his fraternity. Brother Walter du Mesnil was delivered up to the king, and confined in one of the royal prisons, but his ultimate fate has not been recorded.

On the death of Noureddin, sultan of Damascus, (A. D. 1175,) Saladin raised himself to the sovereignty both of Egypt and of Syria. He levied an immense army, and crossing the desert from Cairo, he again planted the standard of Mahomet upon the sacred territory of Palestine. His forces were composed of twenty-six thousand light infantry, eight thousand horsemen, a host of archers and spearmen mounted on dromedaries, and eighteen thousand common soldiers. The person of Saladin was surrounded by a body-guard of a thousand Mamlook emirs, clothed in yellow cloaks worn over their shirts of mail.

In the great battle fought near Ascalon, (Nov. 1, A. D. 1177,) Odo de St. Amand, the Master of the Temple, at the head of eighty of his knights, broke through the guard of Mamlooks, slew their commander, and penetrated to the imperial tent, from whence the

* Adjecit etiam et alia *a spiritu superbiæ*, quo ipse plurimum abundabat, dictata, quæ præsenti narrationi non multum necessarium est interserere.—*Will. Tyr.* lib. xx. cap. 32.

sultan escaped with great difficulty, almost naked, upon a fleet dromedary; the infidels, thrown into confusion, were slaughtered or driven into the desert, where they perished from hunger, fatigue, or the inclemency of the weather.* The year following, Saladin collected a vast army at Damascus; and the Templars, in order to protect and cover the road leading from that city to Jerusalem, commenced the erection of a strong fortress on the northern frontier of the Latin kingdom, close to Jacob's ford on the river Jordan, at the spot where now stands *Djiss'r Beni Yakoob*, "the bridge of the sons of Jacob." Saladin advanced at the head of his forces to oppose the progress of the work, and the king of Jerusalem and all the chivalry of the Latin kingdom were gathered together in the plain to protect the Templars and their workmen. The fortress was erected notwithstanding all the exertions of the infidels, and the Templars threw into it a strong garrison. Redoubled efforts were then made by Saladin to destroy the place.

ODO DE ST. AMAND. A. D. 1177.

At a given signal from the Mussulman trumpets, "the defenders of Islam" fled before "the avengers of Christ;" the christian forces became disordered in the pursuit, and the swift cavalry of the desert, wheeling upon both wings, defeated with immense slaughter the entire army of the cross. The Templars and the Hospitallers, with the count of Tripoli, stood firm on the summit of a small hillock, and for a long time presented a bold and undaunted front to the victorious enemy. The count of Tripoli at last cut his way through the infidels, and fled to Tyre; the Master of the Hospital, after seeing most of his brethren slain, swam across the Jordan, and fled, covered with wounds, to the castle of Beaufort; and the

* *Will. Tyr.* lib. xxi. cap. 20, 22, 23. Abulfeda. Abulpharadge Chron. Syr. p. 379.

Odo de St. Amand. A. D. 1179.

Templars, after fighting with their accustomed zeal and fanaticism around the red-cross banner, which waved to the last over the field of blood, were all killed or taken prisoners, and the Master, Odo de St. Amand, fell alive into the hands of the enemy.* Saladin then laid siege to the newly-erected fortress, which was of some strength, being defended by thick walls, flanked with large towers furnished with military engines. After a gallant resistance on the part of the garrison, it was set on fire, and then stormed. "The Templars," says Abulpharadge, "flung themselves some into the fire, where they were burned, some cast themselves into the Jordan, some jumped down from the walls on to the rocks, and were dashed to pieces: thus were slain the enemy." The fortress was reduced to a heap of ruins, and the enraged sultan, it is said, ordered all the Templars taken in the place to be sawn in two, excepting the most distinguished of the knights, who were reserved for a ransom, and were sent in chains to Aleppo.†

Saladin offered Odo de St. Amand his liberty in exchange for the freedom of his own nephew, who was a prisoner in the hands of the Templars; but the Master of the Temple haughtily replied, that he would never, by his example, encourage any of his knights to be mean enough to surrender, that a Templar ought either to vanquish or die, and that he had nothing to give for his ransom but his girdle

* Capti sunt ibi de nostris, Otto de Sancto Amando militiæ Templi Magister, homo nequaquam superbus et arrogans, spiritum furoris habens in naribus, nec Deum timens, nec ad homines habens reverentiam.—*Will. Tyr.* lib. xxi. cap. 29. Abulpharadge, Chron. Syr. p. 380, 381.

† *Abulpharadge*, Chron. Syr. ut sup. Menologium Cisterciente, p. 194. *Bernardus Thesaurarius* de acq. *Terr. Sanc.* cap 139.

and his knife.* The proud spirit of Odo de St. Amand could but ill brook confinement; he languished and died in the dungeons of Damascus, and was succeeded by Brother Arnold de Torroge, who had filled some of the chief situations of the order in Europe.† ARNOLD DE TORROGE. A. D. 1180.

The affairs of the Latin Christians were at this period in a deplorable situation. Saladin encamped near Tiberias, and extended his ravages into almost every part of Palestine. His light cavalry swept the valley of the Jordan to within a day's march of Jerusalem, and the whole country as far as Panias on the one side, and Beisan, D'Jenneen, and Sebaste, on the other, was destroyed by fire and the sword. The houses of the Templars were pillaged and burnt; various castles belonging to the order were taken by assault;‡ but the immediate destruction of the Latin power was arrested by some partial successes obtained by the Christian warriors, and by the skilful generalship of their leaders. Saladin was compelled to retreat to Damascus, after he had burnt Naplous, and depopulated the whole country around Tiberias. A truce was proposed, (A. D. 1184,) and as the attention of the sultan was then distracted by the intrigues of the Turcoman chieftains in the north of Syria, and he was again engaged in hostilities in Mesopotamia, he agreed to a suspension of the war for four years, in consideration of the payment by the Christians of a large sum of money.

* Dicens non esse consuetudinis militum Templi ut aliqua redemptio daretur pro eis præter cingulum et cultellum. Chron. *Trivet* apud *Hall*, vol. i. p. 77.

† Eodem anno quo captus est in vinculis et squalore carceris, nulli lugendus, dicitur obiisse.—*Will. Tyr.* lib. xxi. cap. 29. Ib. lib. xxii. cap. 7. Gallia christiana nova, tom. i. col. 258; ibid. p. 172, instrumentorum.

‡ *Abulfeda*, ad ann. 1182, 3. *Will. Tyr.* lib. xxii. cap. 16—20.

ARNOLD DE TORROGE. A. D. 1184

Immediate advantage was taken of this truce to secure the safety of the Latin kingdom. A grand council was called together at Jerusalem, and it was determined that Heraclius, the patriarch of the Holy City, and the Masters of the Temple and Hospital, should forthwith proceed to Europe, to obtain succour from the western princes. The sovereign mostly depended upon for assistance was Henry the Second, king of England,* grandson of Fulk, the late king of Jerusalem, and cousin-german to Baldwin, the then reigning sovereign. Henry had received absolution for the murder of Saint Thomas à Becket, on condition that he should proceed in person at the head of a powerful army to the succour of Palestine, and should, at his own expense, maintain two hundred Templars for the defence of the holy territory.†

The Patriarch and the two Masters landed in Italy, and after furnishing themselves with the letters of the pope, threatening the English monarch with the judgments of heaven if he did not forthwith perform the penance prescribed him, they set out for England. At Verona, the Master of the Temple fell sick and died,‡ but his companions proceeding on their journey, landed in safety in England at the commencement of the year 1185. They were received by the king at Reading, and throwing themselves at the feet of the English monarch, they with much weeping and sobbing saluted

* Unde propter causas prædictas generali providentia statutum est, ut Jerosolymitanus Patriarcha, petendi contra immanissimum hostem Saladinum auxilii gratia, ad christianos principes in Europam mitteretur; sed maxime ad illustrem Anglorum regem, cujus efficacior et promptior opera sperabatur.—*Hemingford*, cap. 33; *Radulph de Diceto*, inter *Hist. Angl.* X. script. p. 622.

† Concil. Magn. Brit. tom. iv. p. 788, 789.

‡ *Arnauld* of Troy. *Radulph de Diceto*, ut sup. p. 625

him in behalf of the king, the princes, and the people of the kingdom of Jerusalem. They explained the object of their visit, and presented him with the pope's letters, with the keys of the holy sepulchre, of the tower of David, and of the city of Jerusalem, together with the royal banner of the Latin kingdom.* Their eloquent and pathetic narrative of the fierce inroads of Saladin, and of the miserable condition of Palestine, drew tears from king Henry and all his court.† The English sovereign gave encouraging assurances to the patriarch and his companions, and promised to bring the whole matter before the parliament, which was to meet the first Sunday in Lent.

ARNOLD DE TORROGE. A.D 1185.

The patriarch, in the mean time, proceeded to London, and was received by the Knights Templars at the Temple in that city, the chief house of the order in Britain, where, in the month of February, he consecrated the beautiful Temple church, dedicated to the blessed Virgin Mary, which had just then been erected.‡

* Eodem anno (1185,) Baldewinus rex Jerusalem, et Templares et Hospitalares, miserunt ad regem Angliæ Heraclium, sanctæ civitatis Jerusalem Patriarcham, et summos Hospitalis et Templi Magistros una cum vexillo regio, et clavibus sepulchri Domini, et turris David et civitatis Jerusalem; postulantes ab eo celerem succursum ..... qui statim ad pedes regis provoluti cum fletu magno et singultu, verba salutationis ex parte regis et principum et universæ plebis terræ Jerosolymitanæ proferebant ..... tradiderunt ei vexillum regium, etc etc.—*Hoveden*, ad. ann. 1185; *Radulph de Dicto*, p. 626.

† *Matt. West.* ad ann. 1185; *Guill. Neubr.* tom. i. lib. iii. cap. 12, 13. *Chron. Dunst.*

‡ *Speed.* Hist. Britain, p. 506. A.D. 1185.

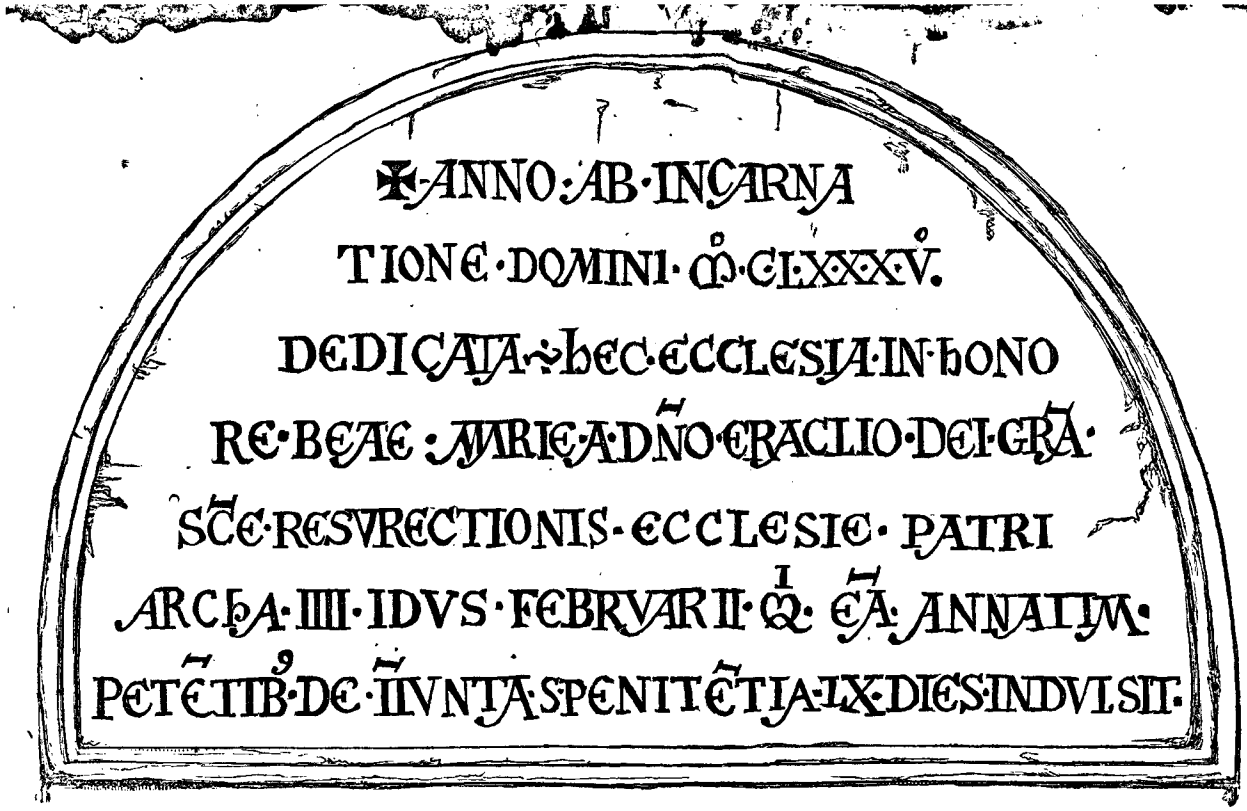
## CHAPTER V.

The Temple at London—The vast possessions of the Templars in England—The territorial divisions of the order—The different preceptories in this country—The privileges conferred on the Templars by the kings of England—The Masters of the Temple at London—Their power and importance.

Li fiere, li Mestre du Temple
Qu'estoient rempli et ample
D'or et d'argent et de richesse,
Et qui menoient tel noblesse,
Ou sont-il? que sont devenu?
Que tant ont de plait maintenu,
Que nul a elz ne s'ozoit prendre
Tozjors achetoient sans vendre
Nul riche a elz n'estoit de prise;
Tant va pot a cue qu'il brise.

*Caron.* à la suite du Roman de Favel.

THE Knights Templars first established the chief house of their order in England, without Holborn Bars, on the south side of the


✠ ANNO AB INCARNA
TIONE DOMINI M CLXXXV.
DEDICATA HEC ECCLESIA IN HONO
RE BEATE MARIE A DNO ERACLIO DEI GRA
SCE RESURRECTIONIS ECCLESIE PATRI
ARCHA IIII IDUS FEBRUARII Q EA ANNATIM
PETENTIB DE IIUNTA SPENITENTIA IX DIES INDULSIT

The ancient inscription on the Temple Church as it stood over the door leading into the cloister.

ON THE 10th OF FEBRUARY,

IN

THE YEAR FROM THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD, 1185,

THIS CHURCH WAS CONSECRATED IN HONOUR OF THE BLESSED MARY

BY THE LORD HERACLIUS,

BY

THE GRACE OF GOD PATRIARCH OF THE CHURCH OF THE RESURRECTION,

WHO

TO THOSE YEARLY VISITING IT HATH INDULGED SIXTY DAYS

OF PENANCE ENJOINED THEM.

The ancient inscription on the Temple Church, as it stood over the door leading into the cloister.

street, where Southampton House formerly stood, adjoining to which Southampton Buildings were afterwards erected:* and it is stated, that about a century and a half ago, part of the ancient chapel annexed to this establishment, of a circular form, and built of Caen stone, was discovered on pulling down some old houses near Southampton Buildings in Chancery Lane.† This first house of the Temple, established by Hugh de Payens himself, before his departure from England, on his return to Palestine, was adapted to the wants and necessities of the order in its infant state, when the knights, instead of lingering in the preceptories of Europe, proceeded at once to Palestine, and when all the resources of the society were strictly and faithfully forwarded to Jerusalem, to be expended in defence of the faith; but when the order had greatly increased in numbers, power, and wealth, and had somewhat departed from its original purity and simplicity, we find that the superior and the knights resident in London began to look abroad for a more extensive and commodious place of habitation. They purchased a large space of ground, extending from the White Friars westward to Essex House without Temple Bar,‡ and commenced the erection of a convent on a scale of grandeur commensurate with the dignity and importance of the chief house of the great religio-military society of the Temple in Britain. It was called the *New* Temple, to distinguish it from the original establishment at Holborn,

* *Stowe's* Survey; *Tanner*, Notit. Monast.; *Dugd.* Orig. Jurid.

† *Herbert*, Antiq. Inns of Court.

‡ "Yea, and a part of that too," says Sir William Dugdale, in his *Origines Juridiciales*, as appears from the first grant thereof to Sir William Paget, Knight, Pat. ii. Edward VI. p 2.

which came thenceforth to be known by the name of the *Old* Temple.*

This New Temple was adapted for the residence of numerous military monks and novices, serving brothers, retainers, and domestics. It contained the residence of the superior and of the knights, the cells and apartments of the chaplains and serving brethren, the council chamber where the chapters were held, and the refectory or dining-hall, which was connected, by a range of handsome cloisters, with the magnificent church, consecrated by the patriarch. Alongside the river extended a spacious pleasure ground for the recreation of the brethren, who were not permitted to go into the town without the leave of the Master. It was used also for military exercises and the training of the horses.

The year of the consecration of the Temple Church, Geoffrey, the superior of the order in England, caused an inquisition to be made of the lands of the Templars in this country, and the names of the donors thereof,† from which it appears, that the larger territorial divisions of the order were then called bailiwicks, the principal of which were London, Warwic, Couele, Meritune,

* We read on many old charters and deeds, "Datum apud *vetus* Templum Londoniæ." See an example, *Nichols'* Leicestershire, vol. iii. p. 959; see also the account, in Matt. Par. and Hoveden, of the king's visit to Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, who lay sick of a fever at the Old Temple, and died there, the 16th November, A. D. 1200.

† Anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLXXXV. facta est ista inquisitio de terrarum donatoribus, et earum possessoribus, ecclesiarum scil. et molendinorum, et terrarum assisarum, et in dominico habitarum, et de redditibus assisis per Angliam, per fratrem Galfridum filium Stephani, quando ipse suscepit balliam de Anglia, qui summo studio prædicta inquirendo curam sollicitam exhibuit, ut majoris notitiæ posteris expressionem generaret, et pervicacibus omnimodam nocendi rescinderet facultatem Ex. cod. MS. in Scacc. penes Remor. Regis. fol. i. a; *Dugd.* Monast. Angl. vol. vi. part ii. p. 820.

Gutinge, Westune, Lincolnscire, Lindeseie, Widine, and Eboracisire, (Yorkshire.) The number of manors, farms, churches, advowsons, demesne lands, villages, hamlets, windmills, and water-mills, rents of assize, rights of common and free warren, and the amount of all kinds of property possessed by the Templars in England at the period of the taking of this inquisition, are astonishing. Upon the great estates belonging to the order, prioral houses had been erected, wherein dwelt the procurators or stewards charged with the management of the manors and farms in their neighbourhood, and with the collection of the rents. These prioral houses became regular monastic establishments, inhabited chiefly by sick and aged Templars, who retired to them to spend the remainder of their days, after a long period of honourable service against the infidels in Palestine. They were cells to the principal house at London. There were also under them certain smaller administrations established for the management of the farms, consisting of a Knight Templar, to whom were associated some serving brothers of the order, and a priest who acted as almoner. The commissions or mandates directed by the Masters of the Temple to the officers at the head of these establishments were called precepts, from the commencement of them, "*Præcipimus tibi,*" we enjoin or direct you, &c. &c. The knights to whom they were addressed were styled *Præceptores Templi,* or Preceptors of the Temple, and the districts administered by them *Præceptoria,* or preceptories.

It will now be as well to take a general survey of the possessions and organization of the order both in Europe and Asia, "whose circumstances," saith William, archbishop of Tyre, writing from

Jerusalem about the period of the consecration at London of the Temple Church, "are in so flourishing a state, that at this day they have in their convent (the Temple on Mount Moriah) more than three hundred knights robed in the white habit, besides serving brothers innumerable. Their possessions indeed beyond sea, as well as in these parts, are said to be so vast, that there cannot now be a province in Christendom which does not contribute to the support of the aforesaid brethren, whose wealth is said to equal that of sovereign princes." *

The eastern provinces of the order were, 1. Palestine, the ruling province. 2. The principality of Antioch. 3. The principality of Tripoli.

1. PALESTINE.—Some account has already been given of the Temple at Jerusalem, the chief house of the order, and the residence of the Master. In addition to the strong garrison there maintained, the Templars possessed numerous forces, distributed in various fortresses and strongholds, for the preservation and protection of the holy territory.

The following castles and cities of Palestine are enumerated by the historians of the Latin kingdom, as having belonged to the order of the Temple.

The fortified city of Gaza, the key of the kingdom of Jerusalem on the side next Egypt, anciently one of the five satrapies of the

* Quorum res adeo crevit in immensum, ut hodie, trecentos in conventu habeant equites, albis chlamydibus indutos: exceptis fratribus, quorum pene infinitus est numerus. Possessiones autem, tam ultra quam citra mare, adeo dicuntur immensas habere, ut jam non sit in orbe christiano provincia quæ prædictis fratribus suorum portionem non contulerit, et regiis opulentiis pares hodie dicuntur habere copias.—*Will. Tyr.* lib. xii. cap. 7.

Lords of the Philistines, and the stronghold of Cambyses when he invaded Egypt.

"Placed where Judea's utmost bounds extend,
Towards fair Pelusium, Gaza's towers ascend.
Fast by the breezy shore the city stands
Amid unbounded plains of barren sands,
Which high in air the furious whirlwinds sweep,
Like mountain billows on the stormy deep,
That scarce the affrighted traveller, spent with toil,
Escapes the tempest of the unstable soil."

granted to the Templars, in perpetual sovereignty, by Baldwin king of Jerusalem.*

The Castle of Saphet, in the territory of the ancient tribe of Naphtali; the great bulwark of the northern frontier of the Latin kingdom on the side next Damascus. The Castle of the Pilgrims, in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel. The Castle of Assur near Jaffa, and the house of the Temple at Jaffa. The fortress of Faba, or La Feue, the ancient Aphek, not far from Tyre, in the territory of the ancient tribe of Asher. The hill-fort Dok, between Bethel and Jericho. The castles of La Cave, Marle, Citern Rouge, Castel Blanc, Trapesach, Sommelleria of the Temple, in the neighbourhood of Acca, now St. John d'Acre. Castrum Planorum, and a place called Gerinum Parvum.† The Templars purchased the castle of Beaufort and the city of Sidon;‡ they also got into their

* Dominus Baldwinus illustris memoriæ, Hierosolymorum rex quartus, Gazam munitissimam fratribus militiæ Templi donavit, *Will. Tyr.* lib. xx. cap. 21. Milites Templi Gazam antiquam Palæstinæ civitatem reædificant, et turribus eam muniunt, *Rob. de Monte*, appen. ad chron. Sig. p. 631.

† *Marin. Sanut*, p. 221. *Bernard Thesaur.* p. 768. *Radulph Coggleshale*, p. 249. Hoveden, p. 636. Radulph de Diceto, ut sup. p. 623. Matt. Par. p. 142. Italia sacra, tom. iii. p. 407.

‡ Tunc Julianus Dominus Sydonis vendidit Sydonem et Belfort Templariis, *Marin. Sanut*, cap. vi. p. 221.

hands a great part of the town of St. Jean d'Acre, where they erected their famous temple, and almost all the sea coast of Palestine was in the end divided between them and the Hospitallers of Saint John.

2. THE PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH.—The principal houses of the Temple in this province were at Antioch itself, at Aleppo, Haram, &c.

3. THE PRINCIPALITY OF TRIPOLI.—The chief establishments herein were at Tripoli, at Tortosa, the ancient Antaradus; Castelblanc in the same neighbourhood; Laodicea and Beyrout,—all under the immediate superintendence of the Preceptor of Tripoli. Besides these castles, houses, and fortresses, the Templars possessed farms and large tracts of land, both in Syria and Palestine.

The western nations or provinces, on the other hand, from whence the order derived its chief power and wealth, were,

1. APULIA AND SICILY, the principal houses whereof were at Palermo, Syracuse, Lentini, Butera, and Trapani. The house of the Temple at this last place has been appropriated to the use of some monks of the order of St. Augustin. In a church of the city is still to be seen the celebrated statue of the Virgin, which Brother Guerrege and three other Knights Templars brought from the East, with a view of placing it in the Temple Church on the Aventine hill in Rome, but which they were obliged to deposit in the island of Sicily. This celebrated statue is of the most beautiful white marble, and represents the Virgin with the infant Jesus reclining on her left arm; it is of about the natural height, and, from an inscription on the foot of the figure, it appears to have been executed by a native of the island of Cyprus, A.D. 733.*

* Atlas *Muratorianus*, p. 156; Siciliæ Antiq., tom. iii. col. 1000.

The Templars possessed valuable estates in Sicily, around the base of Mount Etna, and large tracts of land between Piazza and Calatagirone, in the suburbs of which last place there was a Temple house, the church whereof, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, still remains. They possessed also many churches in the island, windmills, rights of fishery, of pasturage, of cutting wood in the forests, and many important privileges and immunities. The chief house was at Messina, where the Grand Prior resided.*

2. UPPER AND CENTRAL ITALY.—The house or preceptories of the order of the Temple in this province were very numerous, and were all under the immediate superintendence of the grand Prior or Preceptor of Rome. There were large establishments at Lucca, Milan, and Perugia, at which last place the arms of the Temple are still to be seen on the tower of the holy cross. At Placentia there was a magnificent and extensive convent, called Santa Maria del Tempio, ornamented with a very lofty tower. At Bologna there was also a large Temple house, and on a clock in the city is the following inscription, "*Magister Tosseolus de Miolâ me fecit . . . Fr. Petrus de Bon, Procur. Militiæ Templi in curiâ Romanâ,* MCCCIII." In the church of St. Mary in the same place, which formerly belonged to the Knights Templars, is the interesting marble monument of Peter de Rotis, a priest of the order. He is represented on his tomb, holding a chalice in his hands with the host elevated above it, and beneath the monumental effigy is the following epitaph:—

Stirpe Rotis, Petrus virtutis munere clarus,
Strenuus ecce pugil Christi, jacet ordine charus;



* Gallia christiana nova, tom. iii. col. 118; Probat. tom. ix. col. 1067, tom. x. col. 1292, tom. xi. col. 46; *Roccus Pyrrhus*, Sicil. Antiq. tom. iii. col. 1093, 4, 5, 6, 7, &c.

Veste ferens, menteque crucem nunc sidera scandit,
Exemplum nobis spectandi cælica pandit:
Annis ter trinis viginti mille trecentis
Sexta quarte maii fregit lux organa mentis."*

PORTUGAL.—In the province or nation of Portugal, the military power and resources of the order of the Temple were exercised in almost constant warfare against the Moors, and Europe derived essential advantage from the enthusiastic exertions of the warlike monks in that quarter against the infidels. In every battle, indeed, fought in the south of Europe, after the year 1130, against the enemies of the cross, the Knights Templars are to be found taking an active and distinguished part, and in all the conflicts against the infidels, both in the west and in the east, they were ever in the foremost rank, battling nobly in defence of the Christian faith. With all the princes and sovereigns of the great Spanish peninsula they were extremely popular, and they were endowed with cities, villages, lordships, and splendid domains. Many of the most important fortresses and castles in the land were entrusted to their safe keeping, and some were yielded to them in perpetual sovereignty. They possessed, in Portugal, the castles of Monsento, Idanha, and Tomar; the citadel of Langrovia in the province of Beira, on the banks of the Riopisco; and the fortress of Miravel in Estremadura, taken from the Moors, a strong place perched on the summit of a lofty eminence. They had large estates at Castromarin, Almural, and Tavira in Algarve, and houses, rents, revenues, and possessions, in all parts of the country. The Grand Prior or Preceptor of Portugal resided at the castle of Tomar. It is seated on the river Narboan,

* *Petrus Maria Campus* Hist. Placent. part ii. n. 23; *Pauli M. Paciandi* de cultu S. Johannis Bapt. Antiq. p. 297.

in Estremadura, and is still to be seen towering in gloomy magnificence on the hill above the town. The castle at present belongs to the order of Christ, and was lately one of the grandest and richest establishments in Portugal. It possessed a splendid library, and a handsome cloister, the architecture of which was much admired.*

CASTILE AND LEON.—The houses or preceptories of the Temple most known in this province or nation of the order were those of Cuenca, and Guadalfagiara, Time and Aviles in the diocese of Oviedo, and Pontevreda in Galicia. In Castile alone the order is said to have possessed twenty-four bailiwicks.†

ARAGON.—The sovereigns of Aragon, who had suffered grievously from the incursions of the Moors, were the first of the European princes to recognize the utility of the order of the Temple. They endowed the fraternity with vast revenues, and ceded to them some of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom. The Knights Templars possessed in Aragon the castles of Dumbel, Cabanos, Azuda, Granena, Chalonere, Remolins, Corbins, Lo Mas de Barbaran, Moncon, and Montgausi, with their territories and dependencies. They were lords of the cities of Borgia and Tortosa; they had a tenth part of the revenues of the kingdom, the taxes of the towns of Huesca and Saragossa, and houses, possessions, privileges, and immunities in all parts.‡

The Templars likewise possessed lands and estates in the Balearic

* Description et delices d'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 259; Hist. Portugal, *La Clede*, tom. i. p. 200, 202, &c.; Hispania illustrata, tom. iii. p. 49.

† Annales Minorum, tom. v. p. 247; tom. vi. p. 211, 218; tom. viii. p. 26, 27; tom. ix. p. 130, 141.—*Campomanes*.

‡ *Marcæ* Hispanicæ, col. 1291, 1292, 1304. Gall. christ. nov. tom. i. col. 195. *Mariana*, de. reb. Hisp. lib. ii. cap. 23.

Isles, which were under the management of the Prior or Preceptor of the island of Majorca, who was subject to the Grand Preceptor of Aragon.

GERMANY AND HUNGARY.—The houses most known in this territorial division of the order are those in the electorate of Mayence, at Homburg, Assenheim, Rotgen in the Rhingau, Mongberg in the Marché of Brandenbourg, Nuitz on the Rhine, Tissia Altmunmunster near Ratisbon in Bavaria, Bamberg, Middlebourg, Hall, Brunswick, &c. &c. The Templars posssessed the fiefs of Rorich, Pausin and Wildenheuh in *Pomerania*, an establishment at Bach in *Hungary*, several lordships in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, and lands, tithes, and large revenues, the gifts of pious German crusaders.*

GREECE.—The Templars were possessed of lands and had establishments in the Morea, and in several parts of the Greek empire. Their chief house was at Constantinople, in the quarter called Ὁμόνοια, where they had an oratory dedicated to the holy martyrs Marin and Pentaleon.†

FRANCE.—The principal preceptories and houses of the Temple, in the present kingdom of France, were at Besancon, Dole, Salins, à la Romagne, à la ville Dieu, Arbois in *Franche Comté*.‡

Bomgarten, Temple Savigné near Corbeil, Dorlesheim near Mol-

* Script. rer. Germ. tom. ii. col. 584. Annales Minorum, tom. vi. p. 5, 95, 177. Suevia et Vertenbergia sacra, p. 74. Annal. Bamb. p. 186. Notitiæ episcopatûs Middelb. p. 11. Script. de rebus Marchiæ Brandeburg, p. 13. *Aventinus* annal. lib. vii. cap. 1. n. 7. Gall. christ. nov. tom. viii. col. 1382; tom. 1. col. 1129.

† Constantinopolis christiana, lib. iv. p. 157.

‡ Hist. de l'Eglise de Besancon, tom. ii. p. 397, 421, 450, 474, 445, 470, 509, &c.

sheim, where there still remains a chapel called Templehoff, Ribauvillier, and a Temple house in the plain near Bercheim in *Alsace.*

Bures, Voulaine les Templiers, Ville-sous-Gevrey, otherwise St. Philibert, Dijon, Fauverney, where a chapel dedicated to the Virgin still preserves the name of the Temple, Des Feuilles, situate in the parish of Villett, near the chateau de Vernay, St. Martin, Le Chastel, Espesses, Tessones near Bourges, and La Musse, situate between Baujé and Macon in *Burgundy.**

Montpelier, Sertelage, Nogarade near Pamiers, Falgairas, Narbonne St. Eulalie de Bezieres, Prugnanas, and the parish church of St. Martin d'Ubertas in *Languedoc.*†

Temple Cahor, Temple Marigny, Arras, Le Parc, St. Vaubourg, and Rouen, in *Normandy,* There were two houses of the Temple at Rouen; one of them occupied the site of the present *maison consulaire,* and the other stood in the street now called *La Rue des Hermites.*‡ The preceptories and houses of the Temple in France, indeed, were so numerous, that it would be a wearisome and endless task to repeat the names of them. Hundreds of places in the different provinces are mentioned by French writers as having belonged to the Templars. Between Joinville and St. Dizier may still be seen the remains of Temple Ruet, an old chateau surrounded by a moat; and in the diocese of Meaux are the ruins of the great

* Hist. de l'Eglise de St. Etienne à Dijon, p. 133, 13 , 205. Hist. de Bresse, tom. i. p. 52, 55, 84.

† Hist. gen. de Languedoc, liv. ii. p. 523; liv. xvi. p. 362; liv. xvii. p. 427; liv. xxii. p. 25, 226. Gall. christ. tom. vi. col. 727. *Martene* Thesaur. anecd. tom. i. col. 575.

‡ Gall. christ. nov. tom. i. p. 32; tom. iii. col. 333; tom. ii. col. 46, 47, and 72. *La Martiniere* dict. geogr. *Martene,* ampl. collect. tom. vi. col. 226. Gloss. nov. tom. iii. col. 223.

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manorial house of Choisy le Temple. Many interesting tombs are there visible, together with the refectory of the knights, which has been converted into a sheepfold.

The chief house of the order for France, and also for Holland and the Netherlands, was the Temple at Paris, an extensive and magnificent structure, surrounded by a wall and a ditch. It extended over all that large space of ground, now covered with streets and buildings, which lies between the Rue du Temple, the Rue St. Croix, and the environs de la Verrerie, as far as the walls and the fossés of the port du Temple. It was ornamented with a great tower, flanked by four smaller towers, erected by the Knight Templar Brother Herbert, almoner to the king of France, and was one of the strongest edifices in the kingdom.* Many of the modern streets of Paris which now traverse the site of this interesting structure, preserve in the names given to them some memorial of the ancient Temple. For instance, *La rue du Temple, La rue des fossés du Temple, Boulevard du Temple, Faubourg du Temple, rue de Faubourg du Temple, Vieille rue du Temple, &c. &c.*

All the houses of the Temple in Holland and the Netherlands were under the immediate jurisdiction of the Master of the Temple at Paris. The preceptories in these kingdoms were very numerous, and the property dependent upon them was of great value. Those most known are the preceptories of Treves and Dietrich on the Soure, the ruins of which still remain; Coberne, on the left bank of the Moselle, a few miles from Coblentz; Belisch, Temple Spelé, Temple Rodt near Vianden, and the Temple at Luxembourg, where in the time of Broverus there existed considerable remains of the

* Histoire de la ville de Paris, tom. i. p. 174. Gall. christ. nov. tom. vii. col. 853.

refectory, of the church, and of some stone walls covered with paintings; Templehuis near Ghent, the preceptory of Alphen, Braëckel, la maison de Slipes near Ostend, founded by the counts of Flanders; Temple Caestre near Mount Cassel; Villiers le Temple en Condros, between Liege and Huy; Vaillenpont, Walsberge, Haut Avenes near Arras: Temploux near Fleuru in the department of Namur; Vernoi in Hainault: Temple Dieu at Douai; Marles near Valenciennes; St. Symphonier near Mons, &c. &c.*

In these countries, as well as in all parts of Europe wherever they were settled, the Templars possessed vast privileges and immunities, which were conceded to them by popes, kings, and princes.

ENGLAND.—There were in bygone times the following preceptories of Knight Templars in the present kingdom of England.

Aslakeby, Temple Bruere, Egle, Malteby, Mere, Wilketon, and Witham, in *Lincolnshire.*

North Feriby, Temple Hurst, Temple Newsom, Pafflete, Flaxflete, and Ribstane, in *Yorkshire.*

Temple Cumbe in *Somersetshire.*

Ewell, Strode and Swingfield, near Dover, in *Kent.*

Hadescoe, in *Norfolk.*

Balsall and Warwick, in *Warwickshire.*

Temple Rothley, in *Leicestershire.*

Wilburgham Magna, Daney, and Dokesworth, in *Cambridgeshire.*

Halston, in *Shropshire.*

Temple Dynnesley, in *Hertfordshire.*

*Annales Trevir. tom. ii. p. 91, 197, 479. *Prodromus* hist. Trevir. p. 1077. *Bertholet* hist. de Luxembourg, tom. v. p. 145. *Joh. Bapt.* Antiq. Flandriæ Gandavum, p. 24, 207. Antiq. Bredanæ, p. 12, 23. *Austroburgus*, p. 115. *Aub Miræi* Diplomat. tom. ii. p. 1165, &c.

Temple Cressing and Sutton, in *Essex*.

Saddlescomb and Chapelay, in *Sussex*.

Schepcley, in *Surrey*.

Temple Cowley, Sandford, Bistelesham, and Chalesey, in *Oxfordshire*.

Temple Rockley, in *Wiltshire*.

Upleden and Garwy, in *Herefordshire*.

South Badeisley, in *Hampshire*.

Getinges, in *Worcestershire*.

Giselingham and Dunwich, in *Suffolk*.*

There were also several smaller administrations established, as before mentioned, for the management of the farms and lands, and the collection of rent and tithes. Among these were Liddele and Quiely in the diocese of Chichester; Eken in the diocese of Lincoln; Adingdon, Wesdall, Aupledina, Cotona, &c. The different preceptors of the Temple in England had under their management lands and property in every county of the realm.†

In *Leicestershire* the Templars possessed the town and the soke of Rotheley; the manors of Rolle, Babbegrave, Gaddesby, Stonesby, and Melton; Rothely wood, near Leicester; the villages of Beaumont, Baresby, Dalby, North and South Mardefeld, Saxby, Stonesby, and Waldon, with land in above *eighty* others! They had also the churches of Rotheley, Babbegrave, and Rolle; and the chapels of Gaddesby, Grimston, Wartnaby, Cawdwell, and Wykeham.‡

* *Dudg.* Monast. Angl. vol. vi. part 2, p. 809 to 817. Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, tom. iii. p. 333 to 382. Acta *Rymeri*, tom. iii. p. 279, 288, 291, 295, &c.

† Acta *Rymeri*, tom. iii. p. 279, 288, 291, 297, &c.

‡ *Nichol's* hist of Leicestershire.

CHAPEL OF THE PRECEPTORY OF TEMPLE SWINGFIELD, DOVER.

In *Hertfordshire* they possessed the town and forest of Broxbourne, the manor of Chelsin Templars, (*Chelsin Templariorum,*) and the manors of Laugenok, Broxbourne, Letchworth, and Temple Dynnesley; demesne lands at Stanho, Preston, Charlton, Walden, Hiche, Chelles, Levecamp, and Benigho; the church of Broxbourne, two watermills, and a lock on the river Lea: also property at Hichen, Pyrton, Ickilford, Offeley Magna, Offeley Parva, Walden Regis, Furnivale, Ipolitz, Wandsmyll, Watton, Therleton, Weston, Gravele, Wilien, Leccheworth, Baldock, Datheworth, Russenden, Codpeth, Sumershale, Buntynford, &c. &c., and the church of Weston.*

In the county of *Essex* they had the manors of Temple Cressynge, Temple Roydon, Temple Sutton, Odewell, Chingelford, Lideleye, Quarsing, Berwick, and Witham; the church of Roydon, and houses, lands, and farms, both at Roydon, at Rivenhall, and in the parishes of Prittlewall and Great and Little Sutton; an old mansion-house and chapel at Sutton, and an estate called Finchinfelde in the hundred of Hinckford.†

In *Lincolnshire* the Templars possessed the manors of La Bruere, Roston, Kirkeby, Brauncewell, Carleton, Akele, with the soke of Lynderby, Aslakeby, and the churches of Bruere, Asheby, Akele, Aslakeby, Donington, Ele, Swinderby, Skarle, &c. There were upwards of thirty churches in the county which made annual payments, to the order of the Temple, and about forty windmills. The order likewise received rents in respect of lands at Bracebrig, Brancetone, Scapwic, Timberland, Weleburne, Diringhton, and a

* *Clutterbuck's* hist. Hertfordshire. *Chauncey*, ant'q. Hert. Acta *Rymeri*, tom. iii. p. 133, 134. *Dodsworth*, MS. vol. xxxv.

† *Morant's* hist. Essex, *Rymer*, tom. iii. p. 290 to 294.

hundred other places; and some of the land in the county was charged with the annual payment of sums of money towards the keeping of the lights eternally burning on the altars of the Temple church.* William Lord of Asheby gave to the Templars the perpetual advowson of the church of Asheby in Lincolnshire, and they in return agreed to find him a priest to sing for ever twice a week in his chapel of St. Margaret.†

In *Yorkshire* the Templars possessed the manors of Temple Werreby, Flaxflete, Etton, South Cave, &c.; the churches of Whitcherche, Kelintune, &c.; numerous windmills and lands and rents at Nehus, Skelture, Pennel, and more than sixty other places besides.‡

In *Warwickshire* they possessed the manors of Barston, Shirburne, Balshale, Wolfhey, Cherlecote, Herbebure, Stodleye, Fechehampstead, Cobington, Tysho and Warwick; lands at Chelverscoton, Herdwicke, Morton, Warwick, Hetherburn, Chesterton, Aven, Derset, Stodley, Napton, and more than thirty other places, the several donors whereof are specified in Dugdale's history of Warwickshire (p. 694;) also the churches of Sireburne, Cardinton, &c., and more than thirteen windmills. In 12 Hen. II., William Earle of Warwick built a new church for them at Warwick.§

In *Kent* they had the manors of Lilleston, Hechewayton, Saun-

* Redditus omnium ecclesiarum et molendinorum et terrarum de baillià de Lincolnscire. Inquis. terrar. ut sup. fol. 41 b to 48 b and 49 a. *Peck's* MS. in Museo Britannico, vol. iv. fol. 95 et seq.

† *Peck's* MS. ut sup. fol. 95.

‡ Inquis. ut sup. 58 b to 65 b.

§ Inquis. terrar. ut sup. fol. 12 a to 23 a. Dodsworth MS. vol. xx. p. 65, 67, ex quodam rotulo tangente terras Templariorum. Rot. 42, 46, p. 964. Dugd. Baron. tom. i. p. 70.

ford, Sutton, Dartford, Halgel, Ewell, Cocklescomb, Strode, Swinkfield Mennes, West Greenwich, and the manor of Lydden, which now belongs to the archbishop of Canterbury; the advowsons of the churches of West Greenwich and Kingeswode juxta Waltham; extensive tracts of land in Romney marsh, and farms and assize rents in all parts of the county.*

In *Sussex* they had the manors of Saddlecomb and Shipley; lands and tenements at Compton and other places; and the advowsons of the churches of Shipley, Wodmancote, and Luschwyke.†

In *Surrey* they had the manor farm of Temple Elfand or Elfante, and an estate at Merrow in the hundred of Woking. In *Gloucestershire*, the manors of Lower Dowdeswell, Pegsworth, Amford, Nishange, and five others which belonged to them wholly or in part, the church of Down Ammey, and lands in Framton, Temple Guting, and Little Rissington. In *Worcestershire*, the manor of Templars Lawern, and lands in Flavel, Temple Broughton, and Hanbury.‡ In *Northamptonshire*, the manors of Asheby, Thorp, Watervill, &c. &c.; they had the advowson of the church of the manor of Hardwicke in Orlington hundred, and we find that "Robert Saunford, Master of the soldiery of the Temple in England," presented to it in the year 1238.§ In *Nottinghamshire*, the Templars possessed the church of Marnham, lands and rents at Gretton and North Carleton; in *Westmoreland*, the manor of Temple Sowerby; in the

* Monast. Angl. ut sup. p. 840. *Hasted.* hist. Kent.

† Ex cod. MS. in officio armorum, L. xvii. fol. 141 a. Calendarium Inquis. post mortem, p. 13, 18.

‡ *Manning's* Surrey. *Atkyn's* Gloucestershire; and see the references in Tanner. *Nash's* Worcestershire.

§ *Bridge's* Northamptonshire, vol ii. p. 100.

Isle of Wight, the manor of Uggeton, and lands in Kerne.* But it would be tedious further to continue with a dry detail of ancient names and places; sufficient has been said to give an idea of the enormous wealth of the order in this country, where it is known to have possessed some hundreds of manors, the advowson or right of presentation to churches innumerable, and thousands of acres of arable land, pasture, and woodland, besides villages, farm-houses, mills, and tithes, rights of common, of fishing, of cutting wood in forests, &c. &c.

There were also several preceptories in Scotland and Ireland, which were dependent on the Temple at London.

The annual income of the order in Europe has been roughly estimated at six millions sterling! According to Matthew Paris, the Templars possessed *nine thousand* manors or lordships in Christendom, besides a large revenue and immense riches arising from the constant charitable bequests and donations of sums of money from pious persons.† "They were also endowed," says James of Vitry, bishop of Acre, "with farms, towns, and villages, to an immense extent both in the East and in the West, out of the revenues of which they send yearly a certain sum of money for the defence of the Holy Land to their head Master at the chief house of their order in Jerusalem."‡ The Templars, in imitation of the other

* *Thoroton's* Nottinghamshire. *Burn and Nicholson's* Westmoreland. *Worsley's* Isle of Wight.

† Habuerunt insuper Templarii in Christianitate *novem millia* maneriorum ..... præter emolumenta et varios proventus ex fraternitatibus et prædicationibus provenientes, et per privilegia sua accrescentes. *Mat. Par.* p. 615, ed. Lond. 1640.

‡ Amplis autem possessionibus tam citra mare quam ultra ditati sunt in immensum, villas, civitates et oppida, ex quibus certam pecuniæ summam, pro defensione Terræ Sanctæ, summo

monastic establishments, obtained from pious and charitable people all the advowsons within their reach, and frequently retained the tithe and the glebe in their own hands, deputing a priest of the order to perform divine service and administer the sacraments.

The manors of the Templars produced them rent either in money, corn, or cattle, and the usual produce of the soil. By the custom in some of these manors, the tenants were annually to mow three days in harvest, one at the charge of the house; and to plough three days, whereof one at the like charge; to reap one day, at which time they should have a ram from the house, eightpence, twenty-four loaves, and a cheese of the best in the house, together with a pailful of drink. The tenants were not to sell their horse-colts if they were foaled upon the land belonging to the Templars, without the consent of the fraternity, nor marry their daughters without their license. There were also various regulations concerning the cocks and hens and young chickens.*

We have previously given an account of the royal donations of King Henry the First, of King Stephen and his queen, to the order of the Temple. These were far surpassed by the pious benefactions of King Henry the Second. That monarch, for the good of his soul and the welfare of his kingdom, granted the Templars a place situate on the river Fleet, near Bainard's Castle, with the whole current of that river at London, for erecting a mill;† also a mes-

eorum magistro cujus sedes principalis erat in Jerusalem, mittunt annuatim.—*Jac. de Vitr.* Hist. Hierosol. p. 1084.

* Masculum pullum, si natus sit super terram domus, vendere non possunt sine licentiâ fratrum. Si filiam habent, dare non possunt sine licentiâ fratrum. Inquisitio terrarum, ut supr. fol. 18 a.

† The Templars, by diverting the water, created a great nuisance. In A. D. 1290, the *Prior*

suage near Fleet-street; the church of St. Clement, "quæ dicitur Dacorum extra civitatem Londoniæ;" and the churches of Elle, Swinderby and Skarle in Lincolnshire, Kingeswode juxta Waltham in Kent, the manor of Stroder in the hundred of Skamele, the vill of Kele in Staffordshire, the hermitage of Flikeamstede, and all his lands at Lange Cureway, a house in Brosal, and the market of Witham; lands at Berghotte, a mill at the bridge of Pembroke Castle, the vill of Finchingfelde, the manor of Rotheley, with its appurtenances, and the advowson of the church and its several chapels, the manor of Blalcolvesley, the park of Halshall, and three *fat bucks* annually, either from Essex or Windsor Forest. He likewise granted them an annual fair at Temple Bruere, and superadded many rich benefactions in Ireland.*

The principal benefactors to the Templars amongst the nobility were the earl of Hereford; William, earl of Devon; the king of Scotland; William, archbishop of York; Philip Harcourt, dean of Lincoln; the earl of Cornwall; Philip, bishop of Bayeux; Simon de Senlis, earl of Northampton; Leticia and William, count and countess of Ferrara; Margaret, countess of Warwick; Simon de

*et fratres de Carmelo* (the white friars) complained to the king in parliament of the putrid exhalations arising from the Fleet river, which were so powerful as to overcome all the frankincense burnt at their altars during divine service, and had occasioned the deaths of many of their brethren. They beg that the stench may be removed, lest they also should perish. The Friars preachers (black friars) and the bishop of Salisbury (whose house stood in Salisbury-court) made a similar complaint; as did also Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, who alleges that the Templars (*ipsi de novo Templo*) had turned off the water of the river to their mills at Castle Baignard.—*Rot. Parl.* vol. i. p. 60, 200.

* Ex cod. MS. in officio armorum, L. xvii. fol. 141 a. *Dugd.* Monast. Angl. ut sup. p. 836. *Tanner*, Notit. Monast.

Montfort, earl of Leicester; Robert de Harecourt, lord of Rosewarden: William de Vernon, earl of Devon, &c. &c.*

The Templars, in addition to their amazing wealth, enjoyed vast privileges and immunities within this realm. They were freed from all amerciaments in the Exchequer, and obtained the privilege of not being compelled to plead except before the king or his chief justice. By special grant from the kings of England, they enjoyed free warren in all their demesne lands, also the power of holding courts to judge their villains and vassals, and to try thieves and malefactors; they were relieved from all the customary feudal suits and services, from the works of parks, castles, bridges, the building of royal houses, and all other works; and also from waste regard and view of foresters, and from toll in all markets and fairs, and at all bridges, and upon all highways throughout the kingdom. They had also the chattels of felons and fugitives, and all waifs within their fee.†

In addition to the particular privileges conceded to them by the kings of England, the Templars enjoyed, under the authority of divers Papal bulls, various immunities and advantages, which gave great umbrage to the clergy. They were freed, as before mentioned, from the obligation of paying tithes, and might, with the consent of the bishop, receive them. No brother of the Temple could be excommunicated by any bishop or priest, nor could any of the churches of the order be laid under interdict except by virtue of a special mandate from the holy see. When any brother of the Temple, appointed to make charitable collections for the succour of

* *Dugd.* Baronage. Monast. Angl. p. 800 to 844.

† Cart. 11. Hen. 3. M. 33. *Dugd.* Monast. p. 844.

the Holy Land, should arrive at a city, castle, or village, which had been laid under interdict, the churches, on their welcome coming, were to be thrown open, (once within the year,) and divine service was to be performed in honour of the Temple, and in reverence for the holy soldiers thereof. The privilege of sanctuary was thrown around their dwellings; and by various papal bulls it is solemnly enjoined that no person shall lay violent hands either upon the persons or the property of those flying for refuge to the Temple houses.*

Sir Edward Coke, in the second part of the Institute of the Laws of England, observes, that "the Templars did so overspread throughout Christendome, and so exceedingly increased in possessions, revenues, and wealth, and specially in England, as you will wonder to reade in approved histories, and withall obtained so great and large privileges, liberties and immunities for themselves, their tenants, and farmers, &c., as no other order had the like." † He further observes, that the Knights Templars were *cruce signati*, and as the cross was the ensign of their profession, and their tenants enjoyed great privileges, they did erect crosses upon their houses, to the end that those inhabiting them might be known to be the tenants of the order, and thereby be freed from many duties and services which other tenants were subject unto; "and many tenants of other lords, perceiving the state and greatnesse of the knights of the said order, and withall seeing the great privileges their tenants enjoyed, did set up crosses upon their houses, as their very tenants used to doe, to the prejudice of their lords."

This abuse led to the passing of the statute of Westminster, the

† Acta *Rymeri*, tom. i. p. 54, 298, 574, 575.

* Page 431.

second, *chap.* 33,* which recites, that many tenants did set up crosses or cause them to be set up on their lands in prejudice of their lords, that the tenants might defend themselves against the chief lord of the fee by the privileges of Templars and Hospitallers, and enacts that such lands should be forfeited to the chief lords or to the king.

Sir Edward Coke observes, that the Templars were freed from tenths and fifteenths to be paid to the king; that they were discharged of purveyance; that they could not be sued for any ecclesiastical cause before the ordinary, *sed coram conservatoribus suorum privilegiorum*; and that of ancient time they claimed that a felon might take to their houses, having their crosses for his safety, as well as to any church.† And concerning these conservers or keepers of their privileges, he remarks, that the Templars and Hospitallers "held an ecclesiasticall court before a canonist, whom they termed *conservator privilegiorum suorum*, [illegible] had indeed more authority than was convenient, and [illegible] respect of the height of these two orders, and at [illegible] and direction, incroach upon and hold plea of matters [illegible] by the common law, for *cui plus licet quam par est*, [illegible] *licet*; and this was one great mischiefe. Another [illegible] that this judge, likewise at their instance, in cases [illegible] jurisdiction, would make general citations as *pro* [illegible] and the like, without expressing the matter where- [illegible] was made, which also was against law, and tended [illegible] xation of the subject."‡ To remedy these evils, [illegible] *liament was passed*, prohibiting Hospitallers and

† 2 Inst. p. 432. ‡ 2 Inst. p. 465.

Templars from bringing any man in plea before the keepers of their privileges, for any matter the knowledge whereof belonged to the king's court, and commanding such keepers of their privileges thenceforth to grant no citations at the instance of Hospitallers and Templars, before it be expressed upon what matter the citation ought to be made.*

Having given an outline of the great territorial possessions of the order of the Temple in Europe, it now remains for us to present a sketch of its organisation and government. The Master of the Temple, the chief of the entire fraternity, ranked as a sovereign prince, and had precedence of all ambassadors and peers in the general councils of the church. He was elected to his high office by the chapter of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which was composed of all the knights of the East and of the West who could manage to attend. The Master had his general and particular chapters. The first were composed of the Grand Priors of the eastern and western provinces, and of all the knights present [illegible] land of Palestine, was a useless and almost [illegible] taking, and it is only on the journeys of the Master to [illegible] we hear of the convocation of the Grand [illegible] attend upon their chief. The general chapters [illegible] the Master in Europe were held at Paris, and [illegible] England always received a summons to attend. [illegible] business and the government of the fraternity [illegible] were conducted by the Master, with the assistance of his [illegible] chapter of the Latin kingdom, which was composed [illegible]

* Stat. Westr. 2, cap. 43. 13 Ed. I.

Grand Priors and chief dignitaries of the Temple as happened to be present in the East, and such of the knights as were deemed the wisest and most fit to give counsel. In these last chapters visitors-general were appointed to examine into the administration of the western provinces.

The western nations or provinces of the order were presided over by the provincial Masters,* otherwise Grand Priors or Grand Preceptors, who were originally appointed by the chief Master at Jerusalem, and were in theory mere trustees or bare administrators of the revenues of the fraternity, accountable to the treasurer-general at Jerusalem, and removeable at the pleasure of the Chief Master. As the numbers, possessions, and wealth of the Templars, however, increased, various abuses sprang up. The members of the order, after their admittance to the vows, very frequently, instead of proceeding direct to Palestine to war against the infidels, settled down upon their property in Europe, and consumed at [illegible] of those revenues which ought to have [illegible] forwarded to the general treasury at the [illegible] numerous convents or preceptories, with [illegible] raised up in each western province a [illegible] similar to that of the ruling province of [illegible]

[illegible] Temple in England, for example, after its [illegible] Bars to the banks of the Thames, was regulated [illegible] after the model of the house of the Temple at

* [illegible] Temple was so generally applied to the superiors of the western [illegible] the Greek of the lower empire, the words Τέμπλου Μαιστὼρ.

Jerusalem. The superior is always styled "Master of the Temple," and holds his chapters and has his officers corresponding to those of the Chief Master in Palestine. The latter, consequently, came to be denominated *Magnus Magister*, or Grand Master,* by our English writers, to distinguish him from the Master at London, and henceforth he will be described by that title to prevent confusion. The titles given indeed to the superiors of the different nations or provinces into which the order of the Temple was divided, are numerous and somewhat perplexing. In the East, these officers were known only, in the first instance, by the title of Prior, as Prior of England, Prior of France, Prior of Portugal, &c., and afterwards Preceptor of England, Preceptor of France, &c.; but in Europe they were called Grand Priors and Grand Preceptors, to distinguish them from the Sub-priors and Sub-preceptors, and also Masters of the Temple. The Prior and Preceptor *of* England, therefore, and the Grand Prior, Grand Preceptor, and Master of the Temple *in* England, were one and the same person. There were also at the New Temple at London, in imitation of the establishment at the chief house in Palestine, in addition to the Master, the Preceptor of the Temple, the Prior of London, the Treasurer, and [illegible] Guardian of the church, who had three chaplains under him, called [illegible]ters.†

The Master at London had his general and particular, or his ordinary and extraordinary chapters. The first were composed of the grand preceptors of Scotland and Ireland, and of the provincial priors and preceptors of the three kingdoms, who were summoned

* Also summus magister, magister generalis.

† Concil. Mag. Brit. tom. ii. p. 335, 339, 340. Monast. [illegible]

once a year to deliberate on the state of the Holy Land, to forward succour, to give an account of their stewardship, and to frame new rules and regulations for the management of the temporalities.* The ordinary chapters were held at the different preceptories, which the Master of the Temple visited in succession. In these chapters new members were admitted into the order; lands were bought, sold, and exchanged; and presentations were made by the Master to vacant benefices. Many of the grants and other deeds of these chapters, with the seal of the order of the Temple annexed to them, are to be met with in the public and private collections of manuscripts in this country. One of the most interesting and best preserved, is the Harleian charter, (83, c. 39,) in the British Museum, which is a grant of land made by Brother William de la More, THE MARTYR, the last Master of the Temple in England, to the Lord Milo de Stapleton. It is expressed to be made by him, with the common consent and advice of his chapter, held at the Preceptory of Dynneslee, on the feast of Saint Barnabas the Apostle, and concludes, "In witness whereof, we have to this present indenture placed the seal of our chapter."† A fac-simile of this seal is given above. On the reverse of it is a man's head, decorated with a long beard, and surmounted by a small cap, and around it are the letters TESTIS SVM AGNI. The same seal is to be met with on various other indentures made by the Master and Chapter of the Temple.‡ The more early seals are surrounded with the words,

* Concil. Mag. Brit. tom. ii. p. 355, 356.

† In cujus rei testimonium huic præsenti scripto indentato sigillum capituli nostri apposuimus.

‡ MS. apud Belvoir. *Peck's* MS. in Museo Britannico, vol. iv. p. 65.

Sigillum *Militis* Templi, " Seal of the *Knight* of the *T*emple;" as in the case of the deed of exchange of lands at Normanton in the parish of Botisford, in Leicestershire, entered into between Brother Amadeus de Morestello, Master of the chivalry of the Temple in England, and his chapter, of the one part, and the Lord Henry de Colevile, Knight, of the other part. The seal annexed to this deed has the addition of the word *Militis*, but in other respects it is similar to the one above delineated.*

The Master of the Temple was controlled by the visitors-general of the order,† who were knights specially deputed by the Grand Master and convent of Jerusalem to visit the different provinces, to reform abuses, make new regulations, and terminate such disputes as were usually reserved for the decision of the Grand Master. These visitors-general sometimes removed knights from their preceptories, and even suspended the masters themselves, and it was their duty to expedite to the East all such knights as were young and vigorous, and capable of fighting. Two regular voyages were undertaken from Europe to Palestine in the course of the year, under the conduct of the Templars and Hospitallers, called the *passagium Martis*, and the *passagium Sancti Johannis*, which took place respectively in the spring and summer, when the newly-admitted knights left the preceptories of the West, taking with them hired foot soldiers, armed pilgrims, and large sums of money, the produce of the European possessions of the fraternity, by which means a continual succour was afforded to the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem. One of the grand priors or grand preceptors generally

* *Nicholl's* Hist. Leicestershire, vol. iii. pl. cxxvii. fig. 947, p. 943; vol. ii. pl. v. fig. 13.

† Two of these visitors-general have been buried in the Temple Church.

took the command of these expeditions, and was frequently accompanied by many valiant secular knights, who craved permission to join his standard, and paid large sums of money for a passage to the far East. In the interval between these different voyages, the young knights were diligently employed at the different preceptories in the religious and military exercises necessary to fit them for their high vocation.

On any sudden emergency, or when the ranks of the order had been greatly thinned by the casualties of war, the Grand Master sent circular letters to the grand preceptors or masters of the western provinces, requiring instant aid and assistance, on the receipt of which collections were made in the churches, and all the knights that could be spared forthwith embarked for the Holy Land.

The Master of the Temple in England sat in parliament as first baron of the realm, *(primus baro Angliæ,)* but that is to be understood among priors only. To the parliament holden in the twenty-ninth year of King Henry the Third, there were summoned sixty-five abbots, thirty-five priors, and the Master of the Temple.* The oath taken by the grand priors, grand preceptors, or provincial Masters in Europe, on their assumption of the duties of their high administrative office, was drawn up in the following terms;—

"I, *A. B.*, Knight of the Order of the Temple, just now appointed Master of the knights who are in ————, promise to Jesus Christ my Saviour, and to his vicar the sovereign pontiff and his successors, perpetual obedience and fidelity. I swear that I will



* Rot. claus. 49. H. III. m. xi. d. Acta *Rymeri*, tom. iii. p. 802.

defend, not only with my lips, but by force of arms and with all my strength, the mysteries of the faith; the seven sacraments, the fourteen articles of the faith, the creed of the Apostles, and that of Saint Athanasius; the books of the Old and the New Testament, with the commentaries of the holy fathers, as received by the church; the unity of God, the plurality of the persons of the holy Trinity; that Mary, the daughter of Joachim and Anna, of the tribe of Judah, and of the race of David, remained always a virgin before her delivery, during and after her delivery. I promise likewise to be submissive and obedient to the Master-general of the order, in conformity with the statutes prescribed by our father Saint Bernard; that I will at all times in case of need pass the seas to go and fight; that I will always afford succour against the infidel kings and princes; that in the presence of three enemies I will fly not, but cope with them, if they are infidels; that I will not sell the property of the order, nor consent that it be sold or alienated; that I will always preserve chastity; that I will be faithful to the king of ———; that I will never surrender to the enemy the towns and places belonging to the order; and that I will never refuse to the religious any succour that I am able to afford them; that I will aid and defend them by words, by arms, and by all sorts of good offices; and in sincerity and of my own free will I swear that I will observe all these things."*

Among the earliest of the Masters, or Grand Priors, or Grand Preceptors of England, whose names figure in history, is Richard de Hastings, who was at the head of the order in this country on

* L'histoire des Cisteaux, *Chrisost. Henriques*, p. 479.

the accession of King Henry the Second to the throne,* (A. D. 1154,) and was employed by that monarch in various important negotiations. In the year 1160 he greatly offended the king of France. The Princess Margaret, the daughter of that monarch, had been betrothed to Prince Henry, son of Henry the Second, king of England; and in the treaty of peace entered into between the two sovereigns, it was stipulated that Gizors and two other places, part of the dowry of the princess, should be consigned to the custody of the Templars, to be delivered into King Henry's hands after the celebration of the nuptials. The king of England (A. D. 1160) caused the prince and princess, both of whom were infants, to be married in the presence of Richard de Hastings, the Grand Prior or Master of the Temple in England, and two other Knights Templars, who, immediately after the conclusion of the ceremony, placed the fortresses in King Henry's hands.† The king of France was highly indignant at this proceeding, and some writers accuse the Templars of treachery, but from the copy of the treaty

* Ricardus de Hastinges, Magister omnium militum et fratrum Templi qui sunt in Angliâ, salutem. Notum vobis facimus quod omnis controversia quæ fuit inter nos et monachos de Kirkested . . . . terminata et finita est assensu et consilio nostro et militum et fratrum, &c., anno ab incarnatione Domini 1155, 11 die kal. Feb. The archbishop of Canterbury, the papal legate, the bishop of Lincoln, and several abbots, are witnesses to this instrument.—*Lansdown* MS. 207, E, fol. 467, p. 162, 163; see also p. 319, where he is mentioned as Master, A. D. 1161.

† Et paulo post rex Angliæ fecit Henricum filium suum desponsare Margaritam filiam regis Franciæ, cum adhuc essent pueruli in cunis vagientes; *videntibus* et consentientibus Roberto de Pirou et Toster de Sancto Homero et Ricardo de Hastinges, Templariis, qui custodiebant præfata castella, et statim tradiderunt illa castella regi Angliæ, unde rex Franciæ plurimum iratus fugavit illos tres Templarios de regno Franciæ, quos rex Angliæ benigne suscipiens, multis ditavit honoribus.—*Rog. Hoveden*, script. post Bedam, p. 492. *Guilielmi Neubrigiensis* hist. lib. ii. cap. 4, apud *Hearne*.

published by Lord Littleton* it does not appear that they acted with bad faith.

The above Richard de Hastings was the friend and confidant of Thomas à Becket. During the disputes between that haughty prelate and the king, the archbishop, we are told, withdrew from the council chamber, where all his brethren were assembled, and went to consult with Richard de Hastings, the Prior of the Temple at London, who threw himself on his knees before him, and with many tears besought him to give in his adherence to the famous councils of Clarendon.†

Richard de Hastings was succeeded by Richard Mallebeench, who confirmed a treaty of peace and concord which had been entered into between his predecessor and the abbot of Kirkested ;‡ and the next Master of the Temple appears to have been Geoffrey son of Stephen, who received the Patriarch Heraclius as his guest at the new Temple on the occasion of the consecration of the Temple church. He styles himself "*Minister* of the soldiery of the Temple in England."§

In consequence of the high estimation in which the Templars were held, and the privilege of sanctuary enjoyed by them, the

* Life of Henry II. tom. iv. p. 203.

† Ib. tom. ii. p. 356. Hist. quad. p. 38. *Hoveden*, 453. *Chron. Gervasii*, p. 1386, apud X script.

‡ Ricardus Mallebeench, *magister* omnium pauperum militum et fratrum Templi Salomonis in Angliâ, &c. . . . Confirmavimus pacem et concordiam quam Ricardus de Hastings fecit cum Waltero abbate de Kirkested.—*Lansdown* MS. 207 E., fol. 467.

§ Gaufridus, filius Stephani, militiæ Templi in Angliâ *Minister*, assensu totius capituli nostri dedi, &c., totum illud tenementum in villâ de Scamtrun quod Emma uxor Walteri Camerarii tenet de domo nostrâ, &c. Ib. fol. 201.

Temple at London came to be made "a storehouse of treasure." The wealth of the king, the nobles, the bishops, and of the rich burghers of London, was generally deposited therein, under the safeguard and protection of the military friars.* The money collected in the churches and chapels for the succour of the Holy Land was also paid into the treasury of the Temple, to be forwarded to its destination: and the treasurer was at different times authorised to receive the taxes imposed upon the moveables of the ecclesiastics, also the large sums of money extorted by the rapacious popes from the English clergy, and the annuities granted by the king to the nobles of the kingdom.† The money and jewels of Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, the chief justiciary, and at one time governor of the king and kingdom of England, were deposited in the Temple, and when that nobleman was disgraced and committed to the Tower, the king attempted to lay hold of the treasure.

Matthew Paris gives the following curious account of the affair:—

"It was suggested," says he, "to the king, that Hubert had no small amount of treasure deposited in the New Temple, under the custody of the Templars. The king accordingly, summoning to his presence the Master of the Temple, briefly demanded of him if it was so. He indeed, not daring to deny the truth to the king, confessed that he had money of the said Hubert, which had been confidentially committed to the keeping of himself and

* Post.

† The money is ordered to be paid "dilecto filio nostro Thesaurario domus militiæ Templi Londonien." Acta *Rymeri*, tom. i. p. 442, 4, 5. *Wilkins* Concilia, tom. ii. p. 230.

his brethren, but of the quantity and amount thereof he was altogether ignorant. Then the king endeavoured with threats to obtain from the brethren the surrender to him of the aforesaid money, asserting that it had been fraudulently subtracted from his treasury. But they answered to the king, that *money confided to them in trust they would deliver to no man without the permission of him who had intrusted it to be kept in the Temple.* And the king, since the above-mentioned money had been placed under their protection, ventured not to take it by force. He sent, therefore, the treasurer of his court, with his justices of the Exchequer, to Hubert, who had already been placed in fetters in the Tower of London, that they might exact from him an assignment of the entire sum to the king. But when these messengers had explained to Hubert the object of their coming, he immediately answered that he would submit himself and all belonging to him to the good pleasure of his sovereign. He therefore petitioned the brethren of the chivalry of the Temple that they would, in his behalf, present all his keys to his lord the king, that he might do what he pleased with the things deposited in the Temple. This being done, the king ordered all that money, faithfully counted, to be placed in his treasury, and the amount of all the things found to be reduced into writing and exhibited before him. The king's clerks, indeed, and the treasurer acting with them, found deposited in the Temple gold and silver vases of inestimable price, and money and many precious gems, an enumeration whereof would in truth astonish the hearers." *

The kings of England frequently resided in the Temple, and so

* *Matt. Par.* p. 381.

also did the haughty legates of the Roman pontiffs, who there made contributions in the name of the pope upon the English bishoprics. Matthew Paris gives a lively account of the exactions of the nuncio Martin, who resided for many years at the Temple, and came there armed by the pope with powers such as no legate had ever before possessed. "He made," says he, "whilst residing at London in the New Temple, unheard of extortions of money and valuables. He imperiously intimated to the abbots and priors that they must send him rich presents, desirable palfreys, sumptuous services for the table, and rich clothing; which being done, that same Martin sent back word that the things sent were insufficient, and he commanded the givers thereof to forward him better things, on pain of suspension and excommunication.*

The convocations of the clergy and the great ecclesiastical councils were frequently held at the Temple, and laws were there made by the bishops and abbots for the government of the church and monasteries in England.†

* *Matt. Par.* p. 253, 645.

‡ *Wilkins.* Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, tom. ii. p. 19, 26, 93, 239, 253, 272, 292.

## CHAPTER VI.

The Patriarch Heraclius quarrels with the king of England—He returns to Palestine without succour—The disappointment and gloomy forebodings of the Templars—They prepare to resist Saladin—Their defeat and slaughter—The valiant deeds of the Marshal of the Temple—The fatal battle of Tiberias—The captivity of the Grand Master and the true cross—The captive Templars are offered the Koran or death—They choose the latter, and are beheaded—The fall of Jerusalem—The Moslems take possession of the Temple—They purify it with rose-water, say prayers, and hear a sermon—The Templars retire to Antioch—Their letters to the king of England and the Master of the Temple at London—Their exploits at the siege of Acre.

"Gloriosa civitas Dei Jerusalem, ubi dominus passus, ubi sepultus, ubi gloriam resurrectionis ostendit, hosti spurio subjicitur polluenda, nec est dolor sicut dolor iste, cum sepulchrum possideant qui sepulchrum persequuntur, crucem teneant qui crucifixum contemnunt."—*The Lamentation of Geoffrey de Vinisauf over the Fall of Jerusalem.*

"The earth quakes and trembles because the king of heaven hath lost his land, the land on which his feet once stood. The foes of the Lord break into his holy city, even into that glorious tomb where the virgin blossom of Mary was wrapt up in linen and spices, and where the first and greatest flower on earth rose up again."—*S Bernardi*, epist. ccexxii.

GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1185.

THE Grand Master, Arnold de Torroge, who died on his journey to England, as before mentioned, was succeeded by Brother Gerard de Riderfort.*

* *Bernard Thesaur.* cap. 157, apud *Muratori* script. rer. Ital. p. 792. *Cotton* MS. Nero E. vi. p. 60, fol. 466.

On the tenth of the calends of April, a month after the consecration by the patriarch Heraclius of the Temple church, the grand council or parliament of the kingdom, composed of the bishops, earls, and barons, assembled in the house of the Hospitallers at Clerkenwell in London. It was attended by William king of Scotland and David his brother, and many of the counts and barons of that distant land.* The august assembly was acquainted, in the king's name, with the object of the solemn embassy just sent to him from Jerusalem, and with the desire of the royal penitent to fulfil his vow and perform his penance; but the barons were at the same time reminded of the old age of their sovereign, of the bad state of his health, and of the necessity of his presence in England. They accordingly represented to King Henry that the solemn oath taken by him on his coronation was an obligation antecedent to the penance imposed on him by the pope; that by that oath he was bound to stay at home and govern his dominions, and that, in their opinion, it was more wholesome for the king's soul to defend his own country against the barbarous French, than to desert it for the purpose of protecting the distant kingdom of Jerusalem. They, however, offered to raise the sum of fifty thousand marks for the levying of troops to be sent into Asia, and recommended that all such prelates and nobles as desired to take the cross should be permitted freely to leave the kingdom on so pious an enterprise.† GERARD DE RIDERFORT, A. D. 1185.

Fabian gives the following quaint account of the king's answer to the patriarch, from the Chron. Joan Bromton: "Lasteley the kynge gaue answere, and sayde that he myghte not leue hys lande

* *Radulph de Diceto*, ut sup. p. 626. *Matt. Par.* ad ann. 1185.

† *Hoveden* annal. apud rer. Angl. script. post Bedam, p. 636, 637.

GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1185.

wythoute kepynge, nor yet leue yt to the praye and robbery of Frenchemen. But he wolde gyue largely of hys owne to such as wolde take upon theym that vyage. Wyth thys answere the patryarke was dyscontente, and sayde, 'We seke a man, and not money; welnere euery crysten regyon sendyth unto us money, but no lande sendyth to us a prince. Therefore we aske a prynce that nedeth money, and not money that nedeth a prynce.' But the kynge layde for hym suche excuses, that the patryarke departed from hym dyscontentyd and comforteless, whereof the kynge beynge aduertysed, entendynge somwhat to recomforte hym with pleasaunte words, folowed hym unto the see syde. But the more the kynge thought to satysfye hym wyth hys fayre speche, the more the patryarke was discontented, in so myche that at the last he sayde unto hym, 'Hytherto thou haste reygned gloryously, but here after thou shalt be forsaken of hym whom thou at thys tyme forsakeste. Thynke on hym what he hath gyuen to thee, and what thou haste yelden to hin agayne,: howe fyrste thou were false unto the kynge of Fraunce, and after slewe that holy man Thomas of Caunterburye, and lastely thou forsakeste the protecceyon of Crystes faith.' The kynge was amoued wyth these wordes, and sayde unto the patryarke, 'Though all the men of my lande were one bodye, and spake with one mouth, they durste not speke to me such wordys.' 'No wonder,' sayde the patriarke, 'for they loue thyne and not the; that ys to meane, they loue thy goodes temporall, and fere the for losse of promocyon, but they loue not thy soule.' And when he hadde so sayde, he offeryd hys hedde to the kynge, sayenge, 'Do by me ryghte as thou dyddest by that blessed man Thomas of Caunterburye, for I had leur to be slayne of the, then of the

Sarasyns, for thou art worse than any Sarasyn.' But the kynge kepte hys pacyence, and sayde, 'I may not wende oute of my lande, for myne own sonnes wyll aryse agayne me whan I were absente.' 'No wonder,' sayde the patryarke, 'for of the deuyll they come, and to the deuyll they shall go,' and so departyd from the kynge in great ire."* GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A.D. 1185.

According to Roger de Hoveden, however, the patriarch, on the 17th of the calends of May, accompanied King Henry into Normandy, where a conference was held between the sovereigns of France and England concerning the proposed succour to the Holy Land. Both monarchs were liberal in promises and fair speeches; but as nothing short of the presence of the king of England, or of one of his sons, in Palestine, would satisfy the patriarch, that haughty ecclesiastic failed in his negotiations, and returned in disgust and disappointment to the Holy Land.† On his arrival at

* The above passage is almost literally translated from Abbot Bromton's Chronicle. The Patriarch there says to the king, 'Hactenus gloriose regnasti, sed amodo ispe te deseret quem tu deseruisti. Recole quæ dominus tibi contulit, et qualia illi reddidisti; quomodo regi Franciæ infidus fuisti, beatum Thomam occidisti, et nunc protectionem Christianorum abjecisti. Cumque ad hæc rex exeandesceret, obtulit patriarcha caput suum et collum extensum, dicens, 'Fac de me quod de *Thomâ* fecisti. Adeo libenter volo a te occidi in Anglia, sicut a Saracenis in Syria, quia tu omni Saraceno pejor es.' Cui rex, 'Si omnes homines mei unum corpus essent, unoque ore loquerentur, talia mihi dicere non auderent.' Cui ille, 'Non est mirum, quia tu et non te diligunt, prædam etiam et non hominem sequitur turba ista.' 'Recedere non possum, quia filii mei insurgerent in me absentem.' Cui ille, 'Nec mirum, quia de diabolo venerunt, et ad diabolum ibunt.' Et sic demum patriarcha navem ascendens in Galliam reversus est."—*Chron. Joan. Bromton*, abbatis Jornalensis, script. X. p. 1144, ad ann. 1185.

† Sed hæc omnia præfatus Patriarcha parum pendebat, sperabat enim quod esset reducturus secum ad defensionem Ierosolymitanæ terræ præfatum regem Angliæ, vel aliquem de filiis suis,

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Jerusalem with intelligence of his ill success, the greatest consternation prevailed amongst the Latin Christians; and it was generally observed that the true cross, which had been recovered from the Persians by the Emperor Heraclius, was about to be lost under the pontificate, and by the fault of a patriarch of the same name.

A resident in Palestine has given us some curious biographical notices of this worthy consecrator of our Temple church at London. He says that he was a very handsome parson, and, in consequence of his beauty, the mother of the king of Jerusalem fell in love with him, and made him archbishop of Cæsarea, (biau clerc estoit, et par sa beauté l'ama la mere de roi, et le fist arcevesque de Cesaire.) He then describes how he came to be made patriarch, and how he was suspected to have poisoned the archbishop of Tyre. After his return from Rome he fell in love with the wife of a haberdasher who lived at Naplous, twelve miles from Jerusalem. He went to see her very often, and, not long after the acquaintanceship commenced, the husband died. Then the patriarch brought the lady to Jerusalem, and bought for her a very fine stone house. "Le patriarche la fist venir en Jerusalem, et li acheta bonne maison de pierre. Si la tenoit voiant le siecle ausi com li hons fait sa fame, fors tant que ele n'estoit mie avec lui. Quant ele aloit au mostier, ele estoit ausi atornée de riches dras, com ce fust un emperris, et si serjant devant lui. Quant aucunes gens la veoient qui ne la connoissoient pas, il demandoient qui cele dame estoit. Cil qui la connoissoient, disoient que cestoit la fame du patriarche. Ele avoit nom Pasque de Riveri. Enfans avoit du patriarche, et les barons estoient, que là où il se

vel aliquem virum magnæ auctoritatis; sed quia hoc esse non potuit, repatriaturus dolens et confusus a curiâ recessit.—*Hoveden* ut sup. p. 630.

conseilloient, vint un foi au patriarche, si li dist; 'Sire Patriarche, dones moi bon don, car je vous aport bones novelles *Pasque de Riveri, vostre fame, a une bele fille!*' "* GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A.D. 1185.

We must now, for the better comprehension of various important transactions and events in which the Templars are hereafter to be found taking an active and distinguished part, refer to a few circumstances connected with the royal family of the Latin kingdom.

Godfrey de Bouillon, who was elected king of Jerusalem by the crusaders on the 23rd of July, A. D. 1099, died without issue surviving him, and was succeeded by his brother Baldwin I. count of Edessa. Baldwin also died without issue, and the crown descended upon his cousin Baldwin II. the next heir to the throne, whose eldest daughter Melesinda (for he had no sons) married Fulk count of Anjou, the father by a previous wife of our English Plantagenets. By the appointment of the king, with the consent of the patriarch, the bishops, and barons, Fulk was made joint successor with Melesinda to the throne, and on the death of Baldwin II., (A. D. 1131,) he was crowned with his wife in the church of the Resurrection. Shortly afterwards, (the 13th of Nov. A. D. 1144,) he was killed by a fall from his horse, whilst hunting in the plain of Acre. He left issue by Melesinda two sons, Baldwin and Amalric, or Amaury. Melesinda died on the 11th of September, A. D. 1161, and was speedily followed to the grave by her eldest son Baldwin III., who died on the 15th of the succeeding February without children. He was consequently succeeded by his younger brother Amalric, who was crowned in the church of the Resurrection, on the 18th of February, A. D. 1162, at the age of 27 years.

* *Contin. Hist. Bell. Sacr.* apud *Martene*, tom. v. col. 606.

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By his first marriage, with Agnes, daughter of Jocelyn de Courtenay count of Edessa, Amalric had issue, one son, named Baldwin, and a daughter named Sibylla. By his second marriage, with the Greek princess Mary, the niece of Manuel emperor of Constantinople, he had another daughter named Isabella. Amalric died in the year 1173, and was succeeded by his son Baldwin IV., who was the reigning sovereign of the Latin kingdom at the period of the departure of the patriarch Heraclius and the Grand Master of the Temple for Europe. This monarch was unfortunately afflicted with a frightful leprosy, which rendered it unlawful for him to marry, and he was consequently deprived of all hope of having an heir of his body to inherit the crown. Fully sensible of the dangers and inconvenience of a female succession, in a country so unsettled and distracted with war as the christian kingdom of Palestine, Baldwin IV. selected as a husband for his eldest sister Sibylla, one of the most talented and distinguished warriors of the day; this was William V. marquis of Montferrat, surnamed "Long-sword." With his sister the king gave as a dowry to the marquis the city of Jaffa, with its dependencies, and admitted him to a principal share in the government of the country.* Shortly after his marriage the marquis of Montferrat died, leaving by Sibylla an infant son named Baldwin.

Sibylla being soon tired of her widowhood, gave her hand to a second husband, Guy de Lusignan, son of Hugh Brun, a nobleman of a handsome person, and descended of an ancient family of Poitou in France. Her choice was at first approved of by the king, who received his new brother-in-law with favour, and loaded him with

* *Will. Tyr.* lib. xxi. cap. 1, cap. 13.

honours. He made him count of Jaffa and Ascalon, gave him the command of the army, and, finding himself incapacitated by his leprosy for the exercise of the active functions of the government, he made him regent of the kingdom.* GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1185.

Guy de Lusignan appears to have been more celebrated for those arts and graces which attract the favour of the female sex, than for the higher and sterner personal qualities which command esteem and fit men for the arduous duties of government. The native barons of the Latin kingdom regarded his sudden elevation to power with envy and discontent; and Raymond count of Tripoli, the most powerful vassal of the empire, attempted to build his own fortune upon the unpopularity of the favourite. This nobleman had been previously regent of the kingdom during the minority of Baldwin IV., the then reigning sovereign, and having once tasted the sweets of power, he had with difficulty resumed the humble station of a subject.† He had indeed, himself, some pretensions to the throne, being descended from Hodierna, daughter of Baldwin II., king of Jerusalem, and widow of the famous Tancred.

Through the influence of the count of Tripoli, a rupture was effected between the king and his brother-in-law. The sick and suffering monarch was induced to recall the power he had intrusted to the latter, to deprive him of the county of Jaffa, and to set aside the claims of Sibylla to the throne, in favour of her son the young Baldwin, who was then about five years of age. He moreover announced his determination to dissolve the marriage, which had been contracted by Guy de Lusignan with his sister, and communi-

* *Will. Tyr.* lib. xxii. cap. 1.

† *Will. Tyr.* lib. xxi. cap. 5, lib. xxii. cap. 9.

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cated with the patriarch touching the publication of a divorce.* Guy de Lusignan was at this period absent from Jerusalem, but he had no sooner heard of the intrigues against him, and of the hostile disposition of the king, than he returned in all haste to the Holy City, and fled with Sibylla to Ascalon. The indignant king followed the fugitives to that city, but found the gates shut against him.†

Stung with vexation and disappointment, he returned to Acre, where his leprosy became so virulent that he was deprived of sight, and lost the use of his hands and feet. In this miserable situation, finding his end approaching, he gave orders for the immediate coronation of the young prince Baldwin, and resigned his authority to the count of Tripoli, who was appointed regent of the kingdom during the minority of the young sovereign, whilst all the fortresses and castles of the land were committed to the safe keeping of the Templars and Hospitallers.‡ The youthful Baldwin was carried with vast pomp to the great church of the Holy Sepulchre, and was there anointed and crowned by the patriarch in the presence of the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital. He was then taken in the arms of the Lord Balian d'Ibelin through the streets of Jerusalem, and proclaimed king by the style and title of Baldwin V.

Balian d'Ibelin was a very tall man, and as the king was very

* *Will. Tyr.* lib. xxii. cap. 29.

† *Will. Tyr.* lib. xxiii. cap. 1.

‡ "Si voloit que li chastel et le fermetés fussent mises en la main de l'Ospital et du Temple." Contin. hist. *Guill. Tyr.* apud *Martene,* tom. v. col. 585. This valuable old French chronicle appears to have been written by a resident in Palestine. It was translated into Latin by Francis Pipin, and published by Muratori inter rer. Italicar. script. tom. vii., as the Chronicle of Bernard the treasurer. It is the best continuation of the history of William of Tyre, which now closes.

little, he held him aloft in his arms, in order that the people might have a good view of their infant sovereign. According to the custom observed at Jerusalem upon every coronation, the young king was taken, wearing his crown, to the Temple of the Lord, to make certain offerings, after which he went to the Temple of Solomon, where the Templars resided, and was entertained at dinner, together with his barons, by the Grand Master of the Temple and the military friars.* The burgesses of Jerusalem attended to do homage, and waited upon their sovereign at table. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1186.

On the 16th of March, A. D. 1186, shortly after the coronation of the young prince, Baldwin IV. sunk under the frightful leprosy with which he had been so long afflicted. He died at Jerusalem in solitude and neglect, and was buried in the church of the Resurrection, by the side of Godfrey de Bouillon, and the other christian kings. His death was followed, in the short space of seven months, by that of the infant king Baldwin V., the last frail and feeble hope of the Latin kingdom. The guardianship of the person of the young sovereign had been intrusted to his maternal uncle Jocelyn count of Edessa, who had taken him to Acre for the benefit of the sea air. He was attacked by some unknown disease at that place, and died at the commencement of the month of September.†

By his death Sibylla became the undoubted heiress to the throne, but the count of Tripoli refused to surrender the power with which

* Assizes de Jerusalem, cap. 287, 288. Quand le roi avoit offert sa corone au Temple Dominus, si avaloit uns degrés qui sont dehors le Temple, et entroit en son pales au Temple de Salomon ou li Templiers manoient. La etoient les tables por mengier, ou le roi s'asseoit, et si baron et tuit cil qui mengier voloient. Contin. bell. sacr. apud *Martene*, tom. v. col. 586. *Guill. Neubr.* cap. 16.

† Chron. Terræ Sanctæ *Radulphi Coggleshale* Abbatis apud *Martene*, tom. v. col. 547.

GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1186.

he had been intrusted, and accused her of the horrible and improbable crime of poisoning her own child. Gerard de Riderfort, the Grand Master of the Temple, however, declared himself in favour of Sibylla; he invited her to repair to Jerusalem, and the count of Tripoli, awed by the power of the Templars, quitted the Holy City, and retreated to his fortified citadel of Tiberias. The dead body of the young king had in the mean time been delivered to the Templars, who brought it from Acre to Jerusalem, and buried it in the tombs of the christian kings.*

Immediately after the performance of this solemn ceremony, a day was appointed for the coronation of the queen, and letters were sent by the Grand Master of the Temple, in the queen's name, to the count of Tripoli and the rebellious barons who had assembled with their followers in arms at Naplous, (the ancient Shechem,) requiring them to attend at the apppointed time to do homage, and take the oath of allegiance. The barons sent back word that they intended to remain where they were; and they despatched two Cistercian abbots to the Grand Master of the Temple, and the Patriarch Heraclius, exhorting them for the love of God and his holy apostles to refrain from crowning Isabella countess of Jaffa, as long as she remained the wife of Guy de Lusignan. They represented that the latter had already manifested his utter incapacity for command, both in the field and in the cabinet; that the kingdom of Jerusalem required an able general for its sovereign; and they insisted that Sibylla should be immediately divorced from Guy de Lusignan, and should choose a husband better fitted to protect the country and undertake the conduct of the government.

* *Contin. hist.* ut sup. col. 592, 593.

As soon as this message had been received, the Grand Master of the Temple directed the Templars to take possession of all the gates of the city of Jerusalem, and issued strict orders that no person should be allowed to enter or withdraw from the Holy City without an express permission from himself. Sibylla and Guy de Lusignan were then taken, guarded by the Templars, to the great church of the Resurrection, where the patriarch Heraclius and all his clergy were in readiness to receive them. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A.D. 1186.

The crowns of the Latin kingdom were kept in a large chest in the treasury, fastened with two locks. The Grand Master of the Temple kept the key of one of these locks, and the Grand Master of the Hospital had the other. On their arrival at the church, the key of the Grand Master of the Temple was produced, but the key of the Grand Master of the Hospital was not forthcoming, nor could that illustrious chieftain himself anywhere be found. Gerard de Riderfort and Heraclius at last went in person to the Hospital, and after much hunting about they found the Grand Master, and immediately demanded the key in the queen's name.

The powerful Superior of the Hospitallers at first refused to produce it,* but being pressed by many arguments and entreaties, he at last took out the key and flung it upon the ground, whereupon the patriarch picked it up, and proceeding to the treasury, speedily produced the two crowns, one of which he placed upon the high altar of the church of the Resurrection, and the other by the side of the chair upon which the countess of Jaffa was seated. Heraclius

* Et lors le Patriarch, le Maistre du Temple, le prince Renaut, alerent a li por les cles, mais le Maitre se destorna, et fu près de none, ains qu'il l'eussent trouvé. Lors li prierent qu'il l'or bailla le clef, il respondi qu'il ne l'or bailleroit pas, &c. Contin. hist. col. 594.

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then performed the solemn ceremony of the coronation, and when he had placed the crown on the queen's head, he reminded her that she was a frail and feeble woman, but ill fitted to contend with the toil and strife in which the beleaguered kingdom of Palestine was continually involved, and he therefore exhorted her to make choice of some person to govern the kingdom in conjunction with herself; whereupon her majesty, taking up the crown which had been placed by her side, and calling for her husband, Guy de Lusignan, she addressed him as follows:

"Those whom God hath joined, let no man put asunder. Sire, receive this crown, for I know none more worthy of it than yourself." *

And immediately Guy de Lusignan was crowned king of Jerusalem, and received the blessing of the patriarch.

Great was the indignation of the count of Tripoli and the barons, when they received intelligence of these events. Baldwin of Ramla declared that the new king was a fool and a buffoon, who would certainly deliver the whole country into the power of the infidels; and Guy de Lusignan's own brother Geoffrey was heard to exclaim, "Since they have made *him* a king, surely they would have *me* a god."

The count and the barons raised the standard of revolt, and proclaimed the princess Isabella, the younger sister of Sibylla, queen

* Quant la contesse fut coronée, le Patriarche li dist: Dame vous estes fame, il convien que vos aies avec vos qui vostre roiaume vous ait a gouverner. . . . Ele prit la corone, si apela son seignor, qui devant lui estoit. Si li dist, Sire, venes avant et receves cest corone, car je ne sais ou je la puisse miex emploier, &c. *Contin. hist.* ut sup. col. 593. "Quia quod Deus conjunxit, homo separare non debet."—*Hoveden* ut sup. p. 634.

of Jerusalem, Isabella was, as before mentioned, the youngest daughter of king Amalric, by the princess Mary of Constantinople, and she had been married, at the early period of eight years, to Humphrey de Thoron, brother of the grand constable of Jerusalem. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1186.

As soon as Humphrey de Thoron heard of the intention of the count of Tripoli and the barons, he hurried with the princess to Jerusalem, and the two, throwing themselves at the feet of the king and queen, respectfully tendered to them their allegiance.* This loyal and decisive conduct struck terror and dismay into the hearts of the conspirators, most of whom now proceeded to Jerusalem to do homage; whilst the count of Tripoli, deserted by his adherents, retired to the strong citadel of Tiberias, of which place he was the feudal lord, and there remained, proudly defying the royal power.

The king at first sought to avail himself of the assistance of the Templars† against his rebellious vassal, and exhorted them to besiege Tiberias; but it was contrary to their oaths, and the spirit of their institution, for them to undertake an aggressive warfare against any christian prince. The king then gave orders for the concentration of an army at Nazareth; the count of Tripoli prepared to defend Tiberias, and it appears unquestionable that he sent to Saladin for assistance, and entered into a defensive and independent alliance with that monarch. The citadel of Tiberias was a place of great strength, the military power of the count was very consider-

* Contin. Hist. p. 595.

† Le roi Gui prist conseil au Maistre du Temple, qu'il porroit faire du conte de Triple, &c. Contin. Hist., col. 596.

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able, and the friends of the king, foreseeing that the infidels would not fail to take advantage of a civil war, earnestly besought his majesty to offer terms of reconciliation to his powerful vassal. It was accordingly agreed that the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital should proceed with the archbishop of Tyre, the Lord Balian d'Ibelin, and the Lord Reginald of Sidon, to Tiberias, and attempt to bring back the count to his allegiance.

These illustrious personages set out from Jerusalem, and slept the first night at Naplous, of which town Balian d'Ibelin was the feudal lord, and the next day they journeyed on towards Nazareth. As they drew near that place, the Grand Master of the Temple proceeded to pass the night at a neighbouring fortress of the Knights Templars, called "the castle of La Feue," and was eating his supper with the brethren in the refectory of the convent, when intelligence was brought to him that a strong corps of the Mussulman cavalry, under the command of Malek al Afdal, one of Saladin's sons, had crossed the Jordan at sunrise, and was marching through the territories of the count of Tripoli.

The immediate cause of this sudden inroad of the infidels, at a time of profound peace, has never been satisfactorily explained. The chronicles differ from one another in their account of the matter. According to some of them, the infidels entered the territory of the count of Tripoli with his express permission, under an agreement that they should cross the frontier after sunrise, and return back within their own dominions before sunset, doing no injury to any of the inhabitants. Others maintain that the count of Tripoli had entered into a secret treaty with the infidels, and had given them permission to traverse his territories to attack the city

of Acre. They moreover affirm that the count had embraced the Mahomedan faith, had been privately circumcised, and had agreed to put Saladin into possession of the Holy City. Radolph of Coggleshale, however, who is by far the best authority for the events immediately connected with the fall of Jerusalem, gives a more reasonable and probable version of the matter, and one which coincides better with the Arabian authorities. He tells us that when Saladin heard of the dissensions of the Christians, he greatly rejoiced, well knowing that a kingdom divided against itself falleth; that he ordered the chiefs and tribes of the Mussulmen to gather around his standard for the reconquest of the Holy City, and sent an army of eight thousand men into Galilee to break the truce, and lay waste the country; justifying this violent measure as a reprisal for some attacks which had been made by a bold independent christian chieftain, named Reginald de Chatillon, upon the caravans of pilgrims journeying to Mecca.

GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

The chronicle of the Holy Land, written by Radolph, abbot of the monastery of Coggleshale in Essex, forms the most important and trustworthy account now in existence of the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin, for the writer was, as he tells us, an eye-witness of all the remarkable events he relates. Radolph was an English monk of the Cistercian order, and a man of vast learning and erudition. He went on a pilgrimage to Palestine, and was there on the breaking out of the war which immediately preceded the loss of the Holy City. He was present at the siege of Jerusalem, and was wounded by an arrow, "which," says the worthy abbot, "pierced through the nose of the relator of these circumstances; the wood was withdrawn, but a part of the iron barb remains to this day."

GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

This chronicle was published in 1729, by the fathers Martene and Durand, in their valuable collection of ancient chronicles and manuscripts.* It commences in the year 1187, and finishes in 1191.

As soon as the Grand Master of the Temple heard that the infidels had crossed the Jordan and were ravaging the christian territories, he sent messengers to a castle of the Templars called "The Convent of Caco," situate four miles distant from La Feue, commanding all the knights that could be spared from the garrison at that place to mount and come to him with speed. The knights had retired to rest when the messengers arrived, but they arose from their beds, and at midnight they were encamped with their horses around the walls of the castle of La Feue. The next morning, as soon as it was light, the Grand Master of the Temple, at the head of ninety of his knights, rode over to Nazareth, and was joined at that place by the Grand Master of the Hospital and forty knights of the garrison of Nazareth. The Templars and Hospitallers were accompanied by four hundred of their foot soldiers, and the whole force, under the command of the two Grand Masters, amounted to about six hundred men.

With this small but valiant band, they set out in quest of the infidels, and had proceeded about seven miles from Nazareth in the direction of the Jordan, when they came suddenly upon a strong column of Mussulman cavalry amounting to several thousand men, who were watering their horses at the brook Kishon. Without waiting to count the number of their enemies, the Templars raised their war cry, unfolded the blood-red banner, and dashed into the

* Amplissima collectio veterum scriptorum et monumentorum, tom. v. col. 547.

midst of the astonished and terrified Mussulmen, dealing around them, to use the words of Abbot Coggleshale, "death and damnation." All the old historians speak with vast enthusiasm of the valour displayed by the Templars on that bloody day. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

The infidels, taken by surprise, were at first thrown into confusion, discomfited, and slaughtered; but when the smallness of the force opposed to them became apparent, they closed in upon the Templars, overwhelmed them with darts and missiles, and speedily thinned their ranks with a terrific slaughter. Bathed with blood and sweat; trembling with fatigue; with their horses killed under them, and with their swords and lances broken, the military friars were to be seen closing with the Mussulman warriors, and rolling headlong with them in the dust. Some tore the darts with which they had been transfixed from their bodies, and hurled them back with a convulsive effort upon the enemy; and others, having lost all their weapons in the affray, were to be seen clinging around the necks of their opponents, whom they dragged from their horses, and endeavoured to strangle under the feet of the combatants.

Jacqueline de Mailly, Marshal of the Temple, performed prodigies of valour. He was mounted on a white horse, and clothed in the white habit of his order, with the blood-red cross, the symbol of martyrdom, on his breast; he became, through his gallant bearing and demeanour, an object of admiration, even to the Moslems. Radolph compares the fury and the anger of this warlike monk, as he looked around him upon his slaughtered brethren, to the wrath of the lioness who has lost her whelps; and his position and demeanour in the midst of the throng of infidels, he likens to that of the wild boar when surrounded by dogs whom he is tearing with

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his tusks. Every blow of this ferocious man, says the worthy abbot, "despatched an infidel to hell;" but with all his valour Jacqueline de Mailly was slain.

In this bloody battle perished the Grand Master of the Hospital and all the Templars excepting the Grand Master, Gerard de Riderfort, and two of his knights, who broke through the dense ranks of the Moslems, and made their escape to Nazareth.*

The Mussulmen severed the heads of the slaughtered Templars from their bodies, and attaching them with cords to the points of their lances, they marched off in the direction of Tiberias.†

This disastrous engagement was fought on Friday, the first of May, the feast of St. James and St. Philip. "In that beautiful season of the year," says Abbot Coggleshale, "when the inhabitants of Nazareth were wont to seek the rose and the violet in the fields, they found only the sad traces of carnage, and the lifeless bodies of their slaughtered brethren. With mourning and great lamentation they carried them into the burial-ground of the blessed Virgin Mary at Nazareth, crying aloud, "Daughters of Galilee, put on your mourning clothes, and ye daughters of Zion, bewail the misfortunes that threaten the kings of Judah."‡

* *Radd. Coggleshale* Chron. Terræ Sanctæ apud *Martene,* tom. v. col. 551. Contin. Hist. *Will. Tyr.* lb. col. 600. *Geoffrey de Vinisauf,* apud xv. script. *Hist. Hierosol.* apud Gesta Dei per Francos, tom. i. pars 2, p. 1150, 1. Alios gladiis cædebant, alios maceis ferreis quassabant. Inter hæc Magister militiæ Templi videns quod traditi essent ad mortem, et nulla spes salutis superesset, quassatus maceis fugiendo, vivus evasit. *Rad. Cogg.* col. 550.

† Il mist les testes des chevaliers du Temple, et de l'Ospital, et les fist attachier a Turcs sur les fers de lor lances, et passerent en cette maniere par devant Tabarie. Contin. hist. ut sup. col. 599.

‡ Prima dies Maii erat, in qua flores et rosas colligi solebant, viri Nazareni colligebant cor-

Whilst this bloody battle was being fought, the Lord Balian d'Ibelin was journeying with another party of Templars from Naplous to join the Grand Master at Nazareth, and the following interesting account is given of their march towards that place. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

" When they had travelled two miles, they came to the city of Sebaste. It was a lovely morning, and they determined to march no further until they had heard mass. They accordingly turned towards the house of the bishop and awoke him up, and informed him that the day was breaking. The bishop accordingly ordered an old chaplain to put on his clothes and say mass, after which they hastened forwards. Then they came to the castle of La Feue, (a fortress of the Templars,) and there they found, outside the castle, the tents of the convent of Caco pitched, and there was no one to explain what it meant. A varlet was sent into the castle to inquire, but he found no one within but two sick people who were unable to speak. Then they marched towards Nazareth, and after they had proceeded a short distance from the castle of La Feue, they met a brother of the Temple on horseback, who galloped up to them at a furious rate, calling out, Bad news, bad news; and he informed them how that the Master of the Hospital had had his head cut off, and how of all the brothers of the Temple there had escaped but three, the Master of the Temple and two others, and that the knights whom the king had placed in garrison at Nazareth, were all taken and killed."*

" If Balian d'Ibelin," says the chronicler, " had marched straight

pora Christianorum, et sepelierunt ea in cimiterio beatæ Mariæ in Nazareth; et fecerunt planctum magnum super interfectos, dicentes, heu! heu! &c. *Rad. Cogg.* col. 352.

* Contin. hist., col. 599.

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to Nazareth, with his knights, instead of halting to hear mass at Sebaste, he would have been in time to have saved his brethren from slaughter." As it was, he arrived just in time to hear the funeral service read over their dead bodies by William, archbishop of Tyre.

The Grand Master of the Temple, who was at Nazareth, suffering severely from his wounds, hastened to collect together a small force at that place to open the communications with Tiberias, which being done, the Lord Balian d'Ibelin and the archbishop of Tyre proceeded to that place to have their interview with the count of Tripoli. The Grand Master accompanied them as far as the hill above the citadel, but not liking to trust himself into the power of the count, he then retraced his steps to Nazareth. Both the Moslem and the Christian writers agree in asserting that the count of Tripoli had at this period entered into an alliance with Saladin; nevertheless, either smitten with remorse for his past conduct, or moved by the generous overtures of the king, he consented to do homage and become reconciled to his sovereign, and for this purpose immediately set out from Tiberias for Jerusalem.

The interview and reconciliation between the king and the count took place at Joseph's well, near Naplous, in the presence of the Templars and Hospitallers, and the bishops and barons. The count knelt upon one knee and did homage, whereupon the king raised him up and kissed him, and they then both returned together to Naplous to take measures for the protection of the country.*

* Obviaverunt autem sibi Rex et comes in campo Magno *Dotaym* juxta cisternam Joseph. Ibi vero uterque descendens in terram, astantibus episcopis, et militibus Templi et militibus Hospitalis, amplexati sunt, et deosculati. *Rad. Cogg.* 552. Contin. hist. ut sup. col. 600.

Saladin, on the other hand, was concentrating together a large army and rapidly maturing his plans for the reconquest of the Holy City—the long-cherished enterprise of the Mussulmen. Whilst discord and dissensions had been gradually undermining the strength of the Christian empire, Saladin had been carefully extending and consolidating his power. He had reduced the various independent chieftains of the north of Syria to submission to his throne and government; he had conquered the cities of Mecca and Medina, and the whole of Arabia Felix; and his vast empire now extended from Tripoli, in Africa, to the Tigris, and from the Indian Ocean to the mountains of Armenia. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

The Arabian writers enthusiastically recount his pious exhortations to the true believers to arm in defence of Islam, and describe with vast enthusiasm his glorious preparations for the holy war. Bohadin, son of Sjeddadi, his friend and secretary, and great biographer, before venturing upon the sublime task of describing his famous and sacred actions, makes a solemn confession of faith, and offers up praises to the one true God.

"Praise be to GOD," says he, "who hath blessed us with *Islam*, and hath led us to the understanding of the true faith beautifully put together, and hath befriended us; and, through the intercession of our prophet, hath loaded us with every blessing. . . . . "I bear witness that there is no God but that one great God who hath no partner, (a testimony that will deliver our souls from the smoky fire of hell,) that Mohammed is his servant and apostle, who hath opened unto us the gates of the right road to salvation. . . . .

"These solemn duties being performed, I will begin to write concerning the victorious defender of the faith, the tamer of the

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followers of the cross, the lifter up of the standard of justice and equity, the saviour of the world and of religion, Saladin Aboolmodaffer Joseph, the son of Job, the son of Schadi, Sultan of the Moslems, ay, and of Islam itself; the deliverer of the holy house of God (the Temple) from the hands of the idolaters, the servant of two holy cities, whose tomb may the Lord moisten with the dew of his favour, affording to him the sweetness of the fruits of the faith."*

Crowds of Mussulmen from all parts of Asia crowded round the standard of Saladin, and the caliph of Bagdad and all the imauns put up daily prayers for the success of his arms.

After protecting the return of the caravan from Mecca, Saladin marched to Ashtara, probably the Ashtaroth Karnain of scripture, belonging to the tribe of Manasseh, not far from Damascus. He was there met by his son, *Al Malek al Afdal*, "Most excellent Prince," and *Moh-hafferoddin ibn Zinoddin*, with the army under their command. Being afterwards joined by the forces of *Al Mawsel*, commanded by *Màsúd al Zaf'aráni*, *Maredin*, and *Hamah*, he reviewed his army, first on the hill called Tel Taisal, and afterwards at Ashtara, the place of general rendezvous. Whilst completing his preparations at this place, Saladin received intelligence of the reconciliation of the count of Tripoli with the king of Jerusalem, and transported with indignation at the double part which that nobleman appears to have been playing, he determined instantly to carry the war into his dominions, and to lay siege to Tiberias.† For this

* Vita et res gestæ Saladini by *Bohadin ib'n Sjeddadi*, apud *Schultens*, ex. MS. Arab. Pref.

† Abulfeda relates that the count of Tripoli had been prevailed upon to join the Franks by a christian patriarch and several priests, who had been sent to him as ambassadors from the

purpose, on Friday the 17th of the month Rabi, he advanced in three divisions upon Al Soheira, a village situate at the northern end of the Lake of Tiberias, where he encamped for the night. The next day he marched round to the western shore of the lake, and proceeded towards Tiberias in battle array. On the 21st Rabi, he took the town by storm, put all who resisted to the sword, and made slaves of the survivors. The place was then set on fire and reduced to ashes. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

The countess of Tripoli retired with the garrison into the citadel, and from thence she sent messengers to her husband and the king of Jerusalem, earnestly imploring instant succour.

The king had pitched his tents at Sepphoris, and all the chivalry of the Latin kingdom were hastening to join his standard and make a last effort in defence of the tottering kingdom of Jerusalem. The Templars and Hospitallers collected together a strong force from their different castles and fortresses,* and came into the camp with the holy cross which had been brought from the church of the Resurrection, to be placed in front of the Christian array. The count of Tripoli joined them with the men of Tripoli and Galilee. Prince Reginald of Mount Royal, made his appearance at the head of a body of light cavalry. The Lord Balian of Naplous came in with all his armed retainers, and Reginald, Lord of Sidon, marched into the camp with the men from the sea coast.

The Grand Master of the Temple had brought with him the

king of Jerusalem, *in open violation of a solemn treaty of alliance he had previously concluded with the sultan. Abulfed.* Chron. ad ann. hejir. 582. See *Renaud*, p. 544.

* Templarii vero, et Hospitalarii, de omnibus castellis suis, populum multum congregaverunt, veneruntque in castra.—*Rad. Cogg.* col. 552, 553.

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treasure which had been sent to the Templars by the king of England, to be employed in the defence of the Holy Land, in expiation of the murder of St. Thomas à Becket, and it was found very acceptable in the exhausted condition of the Latin treasury.

Whilst the christian forces were assembling at Sepphoris, Saladin sent forward a strong corps of cavalry, which ravaged and laid waste all the country around the brook Kishon, from Tiberias to Bethoron, and from the mountains of Gilboa and Jezreel to Nazareth. From all the eminences nought was to be seen but the smoking ruins of the villages, hamlets, and scattered dwellings of the christian population. The whole country, before the very noses of the christian forces, was enveloped in flames and smoke,* and the christian camp was filled with fugitives who had fled with terror before the merciless swords of the Moslems.

To complete the misfortunes of the Latins, the king was irresolute and continually giving contradictory commands, and the christian chieftains, having lost all confidence in their leader, and despairing of being able to contend with success against the vast power of Saladin, seemed to be preparing for a retreat to the sea coast, rather than for a desperate struggle with the infidels for the preservation of Jerusalem. Upon this ground only can be explained the long delay of the christian army at Sepphoris. This place, the ancient capital of Galilee, is situate between Nazareth and Acre, and an army could at any time secure an easy and safe retreat from it to the port of the last-named city. Here, then, the Christians remained, quietly permitting Saladin to occupy a strong position from whence he could pour his vast masses of cavalry into the great

* Ardebat autem tota terra, sicut globus unus, ante faciem eorum. *Rad. Cogg.* col 553.

plain of Esdraelon, and open for himself a direct road to the Holy City, either through the valley of the Jordan, or through the great plain along the bases of the mountains of Gilboa. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

When the messengers from the countess of Tripoli arrived in the christian camp, with intelligence that Saladin had burnt and stormed the town of Tiberias, and that the countess had retired into the citadel, the king called a council of war. This council assembled in the royal tent, on the evening of the second of July, and there were present at it, Gerard de Riderfort, the Grand Master of the Temple, the newly-elected Grand Master of the Hospital, the archbishop of Tyre, the count of Tripoli, Balian d'Ibelin, lord of Naplous, and nearly all the bishops and barons of Palestine.

The count of Tripoli, although his capital was in flames, his territories spoiled by the enemy, and his countess closely besieged, advised the king to remain inactive where he was; but the Grand Master of the Temple, hearing this advice, rose up in the midst of the assembly, and boldly and indignantly stigmatized the count as a traitor. He called him a wolf in sheep's clothing,* and urged the king instantly to march to the relief of Tiberias. The barons, however, sided with the count of Tripoli, and it was determined that the army should remain at Sepphoris. The council broke up; each man retired to his tent, and the king went to supper. But the Grand Master of the Temple, agitated by a thousand conflicting emotions, could not rest. At midnight he arose and sought the presence of the king.† He reproached him for remaining in a state of inaction

* Lors dist le Maistre du Temple que 'encore j'avois du *poil du leu.*' *Contin. hist.* col. 602. *Rad. Cogg.* col. 554, 555.

† Il estoit près de mie nuit. Le roi allist a souper. Quant il ot soupé, le maistre du Tem-

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at Sepphoris, whilst the enemy was ravaging and laying waste all the surrounding country, and reducing the christian population to a state of hopeless bondage.

"It will be an everlasting reproach to you, Sire," said the Grand Master, "if you quietly permit the infidels to take before your face an important christian citadel, which you ought to feel it your first duty to defend. Know that the Templars will sooner tear the white mantle from their shoulders, and sell all that they possess, than remain any longer quiet spectators of the injury and disgrace that have been brought upon the christian arms."*

Moved by the discourse of the Grand Master, the king consented to march at once to the relief of Tiberias, and at morning's dawn the tents of the Templars were struck, and the trumpets of the order sounded the advance. In vain did the count of Tripoli and the barons oppose this movement, the king and the Templars were resolute, and the christian host soon covered, in full array, the road leading to Tiberias.

The count of Tripoli insisted upon leading the van of the army, as the christian forces were marching through his territories, and the Templars consequently brought up the rear. The cowardly patriarch Heraclius, whose duty it was to bear the holy cross in front of the christian array, had remained at Jerusalem, and had confided his sacred charge to the bishops of Acre and Lidda,† a

ple vint a lui, si li dist: Sire, crees-vos le conseil que cil troitor a donné? ce est por vos honir, etc. *Contin. hist.* col. 602.

* Le Maistre du Temple li dist: 'Sire, sachiez que ancois metroient li Templiers les blans manteaus jus, et vendroient quant qu'il ont, que la hont ne fust vengié, que li Sarrazins m'ont faite, etc. *Contin. hist.* bell. sacr. apud *Martene*, tom. v. col. 602.

† *Rad. Cogg.* col. 553.

circumstance which gave rise to many gloomy forebodings amongst the superstitious soldiers of Christ. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A.D. 1187.

As soon as Saladin heard of the advance of the christian army, he turned the siege of the citadel of Tiberias into a blockade, called in his detachments of cavalry, and hastened to occupy all the passes and defiles of the mountains leading to Tiberias. The march of the infidel host, which amounted to 80,000 horse and foot, over the hilly country, is compared by an Arabian writer, an eye witness, to mountains in movement, or to the vast waves of an agitated sea.

Saladin encamped on the hills beyond Tiberias, resting his left wing upon the lake, and planting his cavalry in the valleys. When the christian forces had arrived within three miles of Tiberias, they came in sight of the Mussulman army, and were immediately assailed by the light cavalry of the Arabs. During the afternoon of that day a bloody battle was fought. The Christians attempted, but in vain, to penetrate the defiles of the mountains; and when the evening came they found that they had merely been able to hold their ground without advancing a single step. Instead of fighting his way at all hazards, to the lake of Tiberias, or falling back upon some position where he could have secured a supply of water, the king, following the advice of the count of Tripoli, committed the fatal mistake of ordering the tents to be pitched.* "When the Saracens saw that the Christians had pitched their tents," says the chronicler, "they came and encamped so close to them that the

* Le cuens de Triple dona lors mauvès conseil. Car il loa que l'on tendist les tentes, et que l'en se herbergast. Contin. hist. col. 606. Castra metati sunt ergo cum dolore et angustia, et siti in sicca mansione ubi magis effusus sanguis nocte illâ quam aqua. *Rad. Cogg.* col. 556.

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soldiers of the two armies could converse together, and not even a cat could escape from the christian lines without the knowledge of the Saracens."*

It was a sultry summer's night, the army of the cross was hemmed in amongst dry and barren rocks, and both the men and horses, after their harassing and fatiguing march, threw themselves on the parched ground, sighing in vain for water. During the livelong night, not a drop of that precious element touched their lips, and the soldiers arose exhausted and unrefreshed for the toil, and labour, and fierce warfare of the ensuing day.

At sunrise the Templars formed in battle array in the van of the christian army, and prepared to open a road through the dense ranks of the infidels to the lake of Tiberias. An Arabian writer, who witnessed the movement of their dense and compact columns at early dawn, speaks of them as "horrible in arms, having their whole bodies cased with triple mail." He compares the noise made by their advancing squadrons to the *loud humming of bees!* and describes them as animated with "a flaming desire of vengeance."† Saladin had behind him the lake of Tiberias, his infantry was in the centre, and the swift cavalry of the desert was stationed on either wing, under the command of *Faki-ed-deen* (teacher of religion). The Templars rushed, we are told, like lions upon the Moslem infidels, and nothing could withstand their heavy and impetuous

* Quant li Sarrazins virent nos Crestiens logier ; si furent mult lies. Il se berbegierent, si près d'eus, que les uns pooient parler as autres, ne qu'un chat ne peust mie issir de l'ost à Crestiens, que les Sarrazins ne le veissent. Cele nuit furent à grant meschief en l'ost, qui ni ot home, ne beste, qui la nuit beuste. *Contin. hist.* col. 606.

† *Muhammed, F. Muhammed, N. Korcisg. Ispahan*, apud *Schultens*, p. 18.

charge. "Never," says an Arabian doctor of the law, "have I seen a bolder or more powerful army, nor one more to be feared by the believers in the true faith." GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A.D. 1187.

Saladin set fire to the dry grass and dwarf shrubs which lay between both armies, and the wind blew the smoke and the flames directly into the faces of the military friars and their horses. The fire, the noise, the gleaming weapons, and all the accompaniments of the horrid scene, have given full scope to the descriptive powers of the oriental writers. They compare it to the last judgment; the dust and the smoke obscured the face of the sun, and the day was turned into night. Sometimes gleams of light darted like the rapid lightning amid the throng of combatants; then you might see the dense columns of armed warriors, now immovable as mountains, and now sweeping swiftly across the landscape like the rainy clouds over the face of heaven. "The sons of paradise and the children of fire," say they, "then decided their terrible quarrel; the arrows rustled through the air like the wings of innumerable sparrows, the sparks flew from the coats of mail and the glancing sabres, and the blood spurting forth from the bosom of the throng deluged the earth like the rains of heaven." . . . . "The avenging sword of the true believers was drawn forth against the infidels; the faith of the UNITY was opposed to the faith of the TRINITY, and speedy ruin, desolation, and destruction, overtook the miserable sons of baptism!"

The lake of Tiberias was two miles distant from the Templars, and ever and anon its blue and placid waters were to be seen calmly reposing in the bright sun-beams, or winding gracefully amid the bosom of the distant mountains; but every inch of the road was fiercely contested; the expert archers of the Mussulmen lined all

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the eminences, and the thirsty soil was drenched with the blood of the best and bravest of the christian warriors.

After almost superhuman exertions, the Templars and Hospitallers halted, and sent to the king for succour.* At this critical juncture the count of Tripoli, who had always insisted on being in the van, and whose conduct, from first to last, had been most suspicious, dashed with a few followers through a party of Mussulmen, who opened their ranks to let him pass, and fled in safety to Tyre. The flight of this distinguished nobleman gave rise to a sudden panic, and the troops that were advancing to the support of the Templars were driven in one confused mass upon the main body. The military friars, who rarely turned their backs upon the enemy, maintained, alone and unaided, a short, sharp, and bloody conflict, which ended in the death or captivity of every one of them excepting the Grand Master of the Hospital, who clove his way from the field of battle, and reached Ascalon in safety, but died of his wounds the day after his arrival.

The christian soldiers now gave themselves up to despair; the infantry, which was composed principally of the native population of Palestine, men taken from the plough and the pruning-hook, crowded together in disorder and confusion, around the bishops and the holy cross. They were so wedged together that they were unable to act against the enemy; they refused to obey their leaders, and quietly resigned themselves to their fate. Brother Terric,

* Pugnaverunt Templarii et Hospitalarii fortiter et Turcopuli in extrema parte exercitus, et non potuerunt prævalere, quoniam undique absque numero inimici creverunt, sagittando et vulnerando Christianos. Cum autem paululum processissent, clamaverunt ad regem postulando auxilium, dicentes se tanti ponderis bellum non posse sustinere. *Rad. Cogg.* col. 557.

Grand Preceptor of the Temple, who had been attached to the person of the king, the Lord Reginald of Sidon, Balian d'Ibelin, lord of Naplous, and many of the lesser barons and knights, collecting their followers together, rushed over the rocks, down the mountain sides, pierced through the enemies' squadrons, and leaving the infantry to their fate, made their escape to the sea coast. The Arab cavalry dashed on, and surrounding, with terrific cries, the trembling and unresisting foot soldiers, they mowed them down with a frightful carnage. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

In vain did the bishops of Ptolemais and Lidda, who supported with difficulty the Holy Cross in the midst of the disordered throng, attempt to infuse into the base-born peasantry some of that daring valour and fiery-religious enthusiasm which glowed so fiercely in the breasts of the Moslems. The christian fugitives were crowded together like a flock of sheep when attacked by dogs, and their bitter cries for mercy ever and anon rent the air, between the loud shouts of ALLAH *acbar*—"GOD is victorious." The Moslem chieftains pressed into the heart of the throng, and cleft their way towards the Holy Cross; the bishop of Ptolemais was slain, the bishop of Lidda was made captive, and the cross itself fell into the hands of the infidels. The king of Jerusalem, the Grand Master of the Temple, the Marquis of Montferrat, the Lord Reginald de Chatillon, and many other nobles and knights, were at the same time taken prisoners and led away into captivity. "Alas, alas," says Abbot Coggleshale, "that I should have lived to have seen in my time these awful and terrible calamities." "Heu mihi, quid dicam? Libet magis plorare et plangere, quam aliquid dicere. Capta est crux, et rex, et Magister militiæ Templi et episcopus Liddensis, et

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frater regis, et Templarii, et Hospitalarii, et marchio de Montferrat, atque omnes vel mortui, vel capti sunt. Plangite super hoc omnes adoratores crucis, et plorate; sublatum est lignum nostræ salutis, dignum ab indignis indigne heu! heu! asportatum. Væ mihi misero quod in diebus miseræ vitæ meæ talia cogor videre. . . . . O dulce lignum, et suave, sanguine filii Dei roratum atque lavatum! O crux alma, in qua salus nostra pependit, &c.*

When the sun had sunk to rest, and darkness had put an end to the slaughter, a crowd of christian fugitives, who survived the long and frightful carnage, attempted to gain the summit of Mount Hittin, in the vain hope of escaping from the field of blood, under cover of the obscurity of the night. But every pass and avenue were strictly watched, and when morning came the trembling band were still found cowering on the elevated summit of the mountain. They were maddened with thirst and exhausted with watching, but despair infused some energy into their coward hearts; they availed themselves with success of the strength of their position, and in the first onslaught the Moslems were repulsed.

The sloping sides of Mount Hittin were covered with dry grass and thistles, which had been scorched and killed by the hot summer's sun, and the Moslems again resorted to the expedient of setting fire to the parched vegetation. The heat of a July sun, added to that of the raging flames, soon told with fearful effect upon the weakened frames of the poor christian warriors, who were absolutely dying with thirst; some threw away their arms and cast themselves upon the ground; some cried for mercy, and others calmly awaited the approach of death.

* Chron. Terræ Sanctæ *Radulphi Coggleshale* apud *Martene*, tom. 5, col. 558.

The Moslem appetite for blood had at this time been slaked; feelings of compassion for the misfortunes of the fallen had arisen in their breasts, and as resistance had now ceased in every quarter of the field, the lives of the fugitives on Mount Hittin were mercifully spared. Thus ended the memorable battle of Tiberias, which commenced on the afternoon of the third of July, and ended on the morning of Saturday, the fifth.* The multitude of captives taken by the Moslems was enormous; cords could not be found to bind them, the tent ropes were all used for the purpose, but were insufficient, and the Arabian writers tell us, that on seeing the dead, one would have thought that there could be no prisoners, and on seeing the prisoners, that there could be no dead. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

"I saw," says the secretary and companion of Saladin, who was present at this terrible fight, and is unable to restrain himself from pitying the disasters of the vanquished—"I saw the mountains and the plains, the hills and the valleys, covered with their dead. I saw their fallen and deserted banners sullied with dust and with blood. I saw their heads broken and battered, their limbs scattered abroad, and the blackened corses piled one upon another like the stones of the builders. I called to mind the words of the Koran, 'The infidel shall say, What am I but *dust?*' . . . . . I saw thirty or forty tied together by one cord. I saw in one place, guarded by one Mussulman, two hundred of these famous warriors gifted with amazing strength, who had but just now walked forth amongst the mighty: their proud bearing was gone; they stood naked with

* *Bohadin* apud *Schultens. Abulfeda, Ben Schunah, Khondemir,* ad ann. Hejir, 1583. *D'Herbelot,* p. 743.

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downcast eyes, wretched and miserable. . . . . The lying infidels were now in the power of the true believers. Their king and their cross were captured, that cross before which they bow the head and bend the knee; which they bear aloft and worship with their eyes; they say that it is the identical wood to which the God whom they adore was fastened. They had adorned it with fine gold and brilliant stones; they carried it before their armies; they all bowed towards it with respect. It was their first duty to defend it; and he who should desert it would never enjoy peace of mind. The capture of this cross was more grievous to them than the captivity of their king. Nothing can compensate them for the loss of it. It was their God; they prostrated themselves in the dust before it, and sang hymns when it was raised aloft!"*

As soon as all fighting had ceased on the field of battle, Saladin proceeded to a tent, whither, in obedience to his commands, the king of Jerusalem, Gerard de Riderfort, the Grand Master of the Temple, and Reginald de Chatillon, had been conducted. This last nobleman had greatly distinguished himself in various daring expeditions against the caravans of pilgrims travelling to Mecca, and had become on that account particularly obnoxious to the pious Saladin. The sultan, on entering the tent, ordered a bowl of sherbet, the sacred pledge amongst the Arabs of hospitality and security, to be presented to the fallen monarch of Jerusalem, and to the Grand Master of the Temple; but when Reginald de Chatillon would have drunk thereof, Saladin prevented him, and reproaching the christian nobleman with perfidy and impiety, he commanded

* *Omad'eddin Kateb-Abou-hamed-Mohamed-Benhamed*, one of Saladin's secretaries. Extraits Arabes, par *M. Michaud.*

him instantly to acknowledge the prophet whom he had blasphemed, or be prepared to meet the death he had so often deserved. On Reginald's refusal, Saladin struck him with his scimitar, and he was immediately despatched by the guards.* GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A.D. 1187.

Bohadin, Saladin's friend and secretary, an eye-witness of the scene, gives the following account of it: "Then Saladin told the interpreter to say thus to the king, 'It is thou, not I, who givest drink to this man!' Then the sultan sat down at the entrance of the tent, and they brought Prince Reginald before him, and after refreshing the man's memory, Saladin said to him, 'Now then, I myself will act the part of the defender of Mohammed!' He then offered the man the Mohammedan faith, but he refused it; then the king struck him on the shoulder with a drawn scimitar, which was a hint to those that were present to do for him; so they sent his soul to *hell*, and cast out his body before the tent door!"†

The next day Saladin proceeded in cold blood to enact the grand concluding tragedy. The warlike monks of the Temple and of the Hospital, the bravest and most zealous defenders of the christian faith, were, of all the warriors of the cross, the most obnoxious to zealous Mussulmen, and it was determined that death or conversion to Mahometanism should be the portion of every captive of either order, excepting the Grand Master of the Temple, for whom it was expected a heavy ransom would be given. Accordingly, on the christian Sabbath, at the hour of sunset, the appointed time of prayer, the Moslems were drawn up in battle array under their

* Contin. hist. bell. sacr. apud *Marlene*, tom. v. col. 608. *Bernard. Thesaur.* apud *Muratori* script. rer. Ital., cap. 46, col. 791.

† *Bohadin*, cap. 35. *Abulfeda. Abulpharag.*

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respective leaders. The Mamlook emirs stood in two ranks clothed in yellow, and, at the sound of the holy trumpet, all the captive knights of the Temple and of the Hospital were led on to the eminence above Tiberias, in full view of the beautiful lake of Gennesareth, whose bold and mountainous shores had been the scene of so many of their Saviour's miracles. There, as the last rays of the sun were fading away from the mountain tops, they were called upon to deny him who had been crucified, to choose God for their Lord, Islam for their faith, Mecca for their temple, the Moslems for their brethren, and Mahomet for their prophet. To a man they refused, and were all decapitated in the presence of Saladin by the devout zealots of his army, and the doctors and expounders of the law. An oriental historian, who was present, says that Saladin sat with a smiling countenance viewing the execution, and that some of the executioners cut off the heads with a degree of dexterity that excited great applause.* "Oh," says Omad'eddin Muhammed, "how beautiful an ornament is the blood of the infidels sprinkled over the followers of the faith and the true religion!"

If the Mussulmen displayed a becoming zeal in the decapitation and annihilation of the infidel Templars, these last manifested a no less praiseworthy eagerness for martyrdom by the swords of the unbelieving Moslems. The Knight Templar, Brother Nicolas, strove vigorously, we are told, with his companions to be the first

* *Omad'eddin Kateb*, in his book called *Fatah*, celebrates the above exploits of Saladin. Extraits Arabes, *Michaud*. *Radulph Coggleshale*. Chron. Terr. Sanct. apud *Martene*, tom. v. col. 553 to 559. *Bohadin*, p. 70. *Jac. de Vitr.* cap. xcix. *Guil. Neubr.* apud Hearne, tom. i. lib. iii. cap. 17, 18. *Chron. Gervasii* apud X. script. col. 1502. *Abulfeda*, cap. 27. *Abulpharag.* Chron. Syr. p. 399, 401, 402. *Khondemir. Ben-Schunah.*

to suffer, and with great difficulty accomplished his purpose.* It was believed by the Christians, in accordance with the superstitious ideas of those times, that heaven testified its approbation by a visible sign, and that for three nights, during which the bodies of the Templars remained unburied on the field, celestial rays of light played around the corpses of those holy martyrs. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A.D. 1187.

Immediately after this fatal battle, the citadel of Tiberias surrendered to Saladin, and the countess of Tripoli was permitted to depart in safety in search of her fugitive husband. There was now no force in the Latin kingdom capable of offering the least opposition to the victorious career of the infidels, and Saladin, in order that he might overrun and subjugate the whole country with the greatest possible rapidity, divided his army into several bodies, which were to proceed in different directions, and assemble at last under the walls of Jerusalem. One strong column, under the command of Malek el Afdal, proceeded to attack La Feue or Faba, the castle of the Knights Templars. Nearly all the garrison had perished in the battle of Tiberias, and after a short conflict the infidels walked into the fortress, over the dead bodies of the last of its defenders. From thence they crossed the great plain to Sebaste, and entered the magnificent church erected by the empress Helena, over the prison in which St. John the Baptist was beheaded, and over the humble grave were still repose the remains of St. John and of Zacharias and Elizabeth his parents. The terrified bishop and clergy had removed all the gold and silver vessels from the altars and the rich copes and vestments of the priests, to conceal them

* *Geoffrey de Vinisauf* apud *Gale*, script. Antiq. Anglic. p. 15, "O zelus fidei! O fervor animi!" says that admiring historian, cap. v. p. 251.

GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1178.

from the cupidity of the Moslems, whereupon these last caused the bishop to be stripped naked and beaten with rods, and led away all his clergy into captivity. The wild Turcoman and Bedouin cavalry then dashed up the beautiful valley of Succoth to Naplous, the ancient Shechem; which they found deserted and desolate; the inhabitants had abandoned their dwellings and fled to Jerusalem, and the Mussulmen planted their banners upon the gray battlements of the castle, and upon the lofty summit of Mount Gerizim. They then pitched their tents around the interesting well where our Saviour spoke with the woman of Samaria, and pastured their cavalry in the valley where Joseph's brethren were feeding their flocks when they sold him to the wandering Ismaelites. Here they remained to gather some tidings of the operations of their fellow soldiers on the other side of the Jordan, and then proceeded to ravage and lay waste all the country between Naplous and Jerusalem, "continuing," says Abbot Coggleshale, "both by night and by day, to slaughter every living thing that they met."*

The column which was to proceed through the valley of the Jordan, entered the great plain of Esdraelon by Mount Thabor, and taking the direction of Nain and Endor to Jezreel, they crossed the mountains of Gilboa to Beisan, and descended the valley of the Jordan, as far as Jericho. Thence they proceeded to lay siege to a solitary castle of the Templars, seated upon that celebrated mountain where, according to tradition, our Saviour was tempted by the Devil with the visionary scene of "all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them." In this castle the Templars maintained a garrison, for the protection of the pilgrims who came to bathe in

* Diu nocteque quicquid vivum invenire poterant interficiendo. *Rad. Cogg.* col. 562.

the Jordan, and visit the holy places in the neighbourhood of Jericho. From the toppling crag, whereon it was seated, the eye commanded an extensive view of the course of the Jordan, until it falls into the Dead Sea, also of the eastern frontier of the Latin kingdom, and of the important passes communicating with Jerusalem. The place was called *Maledoim*, or "the Red Mountain," on account of the blood that had been shed upon the spot. Fifty Tyrian dinars had been offered by Saladin, for the head of every Knight Templar that was brought him, and the blood-thirsty infidels surrounded the doomed castle eager for the reward. The whole garrison was put to the sword, and the place was left a shapeless ruin.

GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

The infidels then marched off in the direction of Jerusalem, and laid waste all the country between Jericho and the Holy City. They pitched their tents at Bethany, upon the spot where stood the houses of Simon the leper, and of Mary Magdalene and Martha, and they destroyed the church built over the house and tomb of Lazarus. The wild Arab cavalry then swept over the Mount of Olives; they took possession of the church constructed upon the summit of that sacred edifice, and extended their ravages up to the very gates of Jerusalem.*

In the mean time Saladin's valiant brother Saifeddin, "sword of the faith," had crossed the desert from Egypt, to participate in the plunder and spoil of the christian territories. He laid waste all the country from Daron and Gerar to Jerusalem. In front of his fierce warriors were to be seen the long bands of mournful captives tied together by the wrists, and behind them was a dreary desert, soaked

* *Rad. Cogg.* col. 567.

GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

with christian blood. Saifeddin had sat down before the strong town of Mirabel, and had placed his military engines in position, when the terrified inhabitants sent a suppliant deputation to implore his clemency. He agreed to spare their lives in return for the immediate surrender of the place, and gave them an escort of four hundred Mussulmen, to conduct them in safety to Jerusalem. Accompanied by their wives and little ones, the miserable Christians cast a last look upon their once happy homes, and proceeded on their toilsome journey to the Holy City. On their arrival at an eminence, two miles from Jerusalem, their Arabian escort left them, and immediately afterwards a party of Templars dashed through the ravine, charged the retiring Moslems, and put the greater part of them to the sword.*

The great Saladin, on the other hand, immediately after the battle of Tiberias, hastened with the main body of his forces to Acre, and the terrified inhabitants threw open their gates at his approach. From thence he swept the whole sea coast to Jaffa, reducing all the maritime towns, excepting the city of Tyre, which manfully resisted him. The savage Turcomans from the north, the predatory Bedouins, the fanatical Arabians, and the swarthy Africans, hurried across the frontiers, to share in the spoil and plunder of the Latin kingdom.

Radolph, our worthy abbot of Coggleshale, one of those who fled before the ruthless swords of the infidels, gives a frightful picture of the aspect of the country. He tells us that the whole land was covered with dead bodies, rotting and putrifying in the scorching

* *Rad. Cogg.* col. 560.

sun-beams.* At early morning you might see the rich and stately church, with the bright and happy dwellings scattered around it, the blooming garden, the silvery olive grove, and the rich vineyard; but the fading rays of the evening sun would fall on smoking masses of shapeless ruins, and on a dreary and solitary desert. The holy abbot, mourns over the fall of Nazareth, and the desecration by the infidels of the magnificent church of the Holy Virgin at that place. Sidon, Caiphas, Sepphoris, Nazareth, Cæserea, Jaffa, Lidda, and Rama, successively fell into the hands of the Moslems; the inhabitants were led away into captivity, and the garrisons were put to the sword. The infidels laid waste all the country about Mount Carmel and Caiphas, and they burnt the celebrated church of Elias, on the mountain above the port of Acre, which served as a beacon for navigators. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

The government of the order of the Temple, in consequence of the captivity of the Grand Master Gerard de Riderfort, who was detained in prison, with Guy, king of Jerusalem, at Damascus, devolved upon Brother Terric, the grand preceptor of Jerusalem, who addressed letters to all the brethren in the west, imploring aid and assistance. One of these letters was duly received by Brother Geoffrey, Master of the Temple at London, as follows :—

"Brother Terric, Grand Preceptor of the poor house of the Temple, and every poor brother, and the whole convent, now, alas! almost annihilated, to all the preceptors and brothers of the Temple, to whom these letters shall come, salvation through him to whom our fervent aspirations are addressed, through him who causeth the sun and the moon to reign marvellous."

† Non erat locus in totâ terrâ in quo non jacerent corpora putrida et tumida. *Rad. Cogg.* col. 559. *Bohadin*, cap. 35.

GERARD DE RIDERFOET. A. D. 1187.

"The many and great calamities wherewith the anger of God, excited by our manifold sins, hath just now permitted us to be afflicted, we cannot for grief unfold to you, neither by letters nor by our sobbing speech. The infidel chiefs having collected together a vast number of their people, fiercely invaded our christian territories, and we, assembling our battalions, hastened to Tiberias to arrest their march. The enemy having hemmed us in among barren rocks, fiercely attacked us; the holy cross and the king himself fell into the hands of the infidels, the whole army was cut to pieces, two hundred and thirty of our knights were beheaded, without reckoning the sixty who were killed on the 1st of May. The Lord Reginald of Sidon, the Lord Ballovius, and we ourselves, escaped with vast difficulty from that miserable field. The Pagans, drunk with the blood of our Christians, then marched with their whole army against the city of Acre, and took it by storm. The city of Tyre is at present fiercely besieged, and neither by night nor by day do the infidels discontinue their furious assaults. So great is the multitude of them, that they cover like ants the whole face of the country from Tyre to Jerusalem, and even unto Gaza. The holy city of Jerusalem, Ascalon, and Tyre, and Beyrout, are yet left to us and to the christian cause, but the garrisons and the chief inhabitants of these places, having perished in the battle of Tiberias, we have no hope of retaining them without succour from heaven and instant assistance from yourselves."*

Saladin, on the other hand, sent triumphant letters to the caliph.

* Epistola Terrici Præceptoris Templi de captione terræ Jerosolymitanæ, *Hoveden* annal. apud rer. Angl. script. post Bedam, p. 636, 637. *Chron. Gervas.* ib. col. 1502. *Radulph de Dicto*, apud X. script. col. 635.

"God and his angels," says he, "have mercifully succoured Islam. The infidels have been sent to feed the fires of hell! The cross is fallen into our hands, around which they fluttered like the moth round a light: under whose shadow they assembled, in which they boldly trusted as in a wall; the cross, the centre and leader of their pride, their superstition, and their tyranny." . . . .* GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

Saladin pursued his rapid conquests along the sea coast to the north of Acre, and took by storm several castles of the Templars. After a siege of six days, the strong fortress of Tebnin, on the road to Beirout, was taken by assault, the garrison was put to the sword, and the fortifications were razed to the ground. On the 22nd, Jomada, the important city of Beirout, surrendered to Saladin, and shortly afterwards the castles of Hobeil and Bolerum. The old chronicle published by Martene, has the following strange passage concerning the last named castle. "To this castle belonged the lady whom the count of Tripoli refused to give up to Gerard de Riderfort, the Grand Master of the Temple, whence arose the great quarrel between them, which caused the loss of the Holy Land."† After the reduction of all the maritime towns between Acre and Tripoli, Saladin ordered his different detachments to concentrate before Jerusalem, and hastened in person to the south to complete the conquest of the few places which still resisted the arms of the Mussulmen. He sat down before Ascalon, and whilst preparing

* Saladin's letter to the caliph *Nassir Deldin Illah Aboul Abbas Ahmed.*—*Michaud,* Extraits Arabes.

† De ce chastel fu la dame que le cuens de Triple ne veut donner a Gerart de Riderfort, qui se rendi au Temple par mantalent, dont la hain commenca par quoi la Terre fu perdue. Contin. hist. ut sup. col. 611.

GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

his military engines for battering the walls, he sent messengers to the Templars at Gaza, representing to them that the whole land was in his power, that all further efforts at resistance were useless, and offering them their lives and a safe retreat to Europe, if they would give up to him the important fortress committed to their charge.* But the military friars sent back a haughty defiance to the victorious sultan, and recommended him to take Ascalon before he ventured to ask for the surrender of Gaza. The season was now advancing—vague rumours were flying about of stupendous preparations in Europe for the recovery of Palestine, and Saladin was anxious to besiege and take Jerusalem ere the winter's rains commenced. When, therefore, his military engines were planted under the walls of Ascalon, he once more, as the place was strong, summoned the inhabitants to surrender, and they then agreed to capitulate on receiving a solemn promise from Saladin, that he would forthwith set at liberty the king of Jerusalem and the Grand Master of the Temple,† and would respect both the persons and the property of the inhabitants. These terms were acceded to, and on the fourth of September the gates of Ascalon were thrown open to the infidels.

The inhabitants of this interesting city appear to have been much attached to their king, Guy de Lusignan, and his queen Sibylla. They had received them, as before mentioned, as fugitives from the wrath of Baldwin IV., and protected them against the power of that

* Interea misit Saladinus legatos ad Templarios, qui erant in castello Gazaris, dicens, videte et diligenter considerate quid dicturi sitis, atque de vitâ et salute vestra diligenti animo considerate. Nam oculis vestris conspicitis, quod Deus tradidit totam terram in manibus meis. *Rad. Cogg.* col. 564.

† Contin. hist. col. 611. *Jac de Vitr.* cap. xcx. *Vinisauf*, p. 257.

monarch. The sultan imposed such conditions upon the prisoners as were necessary for his own security. They were to quit Palestine never more to return, and were in the mean time, until a fitting opportunity for their embarkation to Europe could be found, to take up their abode at Naplous, under the surveillance of the Moslem garrison. Immediately after the capture of Ascalon, Saladin pitched his tents beneath the walls of Gaza, the great fortress of the Knights Templars. He had been repulsed by the military friars with great loss in a previous attack upon this important station, and he now surrounded it with his numerous battalions, thirsting for vengeance. The place surrendered after a short siege; the fortifications were demolished, but the fate of the garrison has not been recorded.

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Having subjugated all the country bordering upon the sea coast, Saladin moved forward in great triumph towards the sacred city of Jerusalem. He encamped the first night at Bersabee, the ancient Beersheba,* around the well digged by Abraham, in the land of the Philistines, and on the spot where Abraham delivered the seven ewe lambs, and made the covenant with Abimelech, and planted a grove, and called "on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God."† The next day Saladin marched towards Bethlehem, halting on the way before a castle of the Hospitallers, which he summoned to surrender, but in vain. The brave warriors of the Hospital hurled defiance upon the infidels from their battlements, and Saladin then continued his march, leaving a party of horse to watch the place. The same evening Saladin pitched his tents around Bethlehem, and the next morning at sunrise, the infidels might be seen pouring into

* *Rad. Cogg.* ut sup. col. 567. † *Ib.*

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the vast convent and the magnificent church erected by the empress Helena and her son Constantine, over the sacred spot where the Saviour of the world was born. They wandered with unbounded admiration amid the unrivalled corinthian colonnade formed by a quadruple row of forty ancient columns, which support a barn-roof constructed of the cedar of Lebanon. They paused to admire the beautiful mosaics which covered the lofty walls, the richly carved screen on either side of the high altar, and the twenty-five imperial eagles. Saladin was present in person, and no serious disorders appear to have been committed. The inhabitants of the town had all fled to Jerusalem, with whatever property they could carry with them, and in the afternoon, after establishing a garrison in the place, the sultan commenced his march towards the Holy City.

At the hour of sunset, when the bells of the churches of Jerusalem were tolling to vespers, the vast host of Saladin crowned in dark array the bleak and desolate eminences which surround the city of David. The air was rent with the loud Mussulman shouts *El Kods, El Kods*—"the Holy City, the Holy City;" and the green and yellow banners of the prophet, and the various-coloured emblems of the Arabian tribes, were to be seen standing out in bold relief upon the lofty ridges of the hills, and gleaming brightly in the last trembling rays of the setting sun. The Arabian writers descant with enthusiasm upon the feelings experienced by their countrymen on beholding "the long lost sister of Mecca and Medina," on gazing once more upon the swelling domes of the Mosque of Omar, and on the sacred eminence from whence, according to their traditions, "Mahomet ascended from earth to heaven." It must have been, indeed, a strange, and an awful scene. The Moslem host took up

their stations around the Holy City at the very hour when the followers both of the Christian and Mahometan religion were wont to assemble to offer up their prayers to the one Great God, the common Father of us all. On the one hand, you might hear the sound of the sweet vesper bells from the towers of the christian churches wafted softly upon the evening breeze, the hoarse chaunt of the monks and priests, and the loud swelling hymn of praise; while on the other, over all the hills and eminences around Jerusalem, stole the long shrill cry of the Muezzins, loudly summoning the faithful to their evening devotions. Within the walls, for one night at least, the name of CHRIST was invoked with true piety and fervent devotion; while without the city, "the eternal truth and the necessary fiction" were loudly proclaimed, "There is but one GOD, and *Mahomet* is his apostle."

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That very night, when the Moslems had finished their prayers, and ere darkness spread its sable shroud over the land, the loud trumpets of Saladin summoned the Christians to surrender "the house of God" to the arms of the faithful: but the Christians returned for answer, that, please God, the Holy City should *not* be surrendered.

The next morning at sunrise, the terrified inhabitants were awakened by the clangour of horns and drums, the loud clash of arms, and the fierce cries of the remorseless foe.* The women and children rushed into the churches, and threw themselves on their knees before the altars, weeping and wailing, and lifting up their

* Undique ab incredulis circumdata, cum magno clangore turbarum, terrore armorum, strepitu et ululatu vociferantium, Hai, Hai. *Rad. Cogg.* col. 567.

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hands to heaven,* whilst the men hastened to man the battlements. The Temple could no longer furnish its hundreds and thousands of brave warriors for the defence of the holy sanctuary of the Christians; a few miserable knights, with some serving brethren, alone remained in its now silent halls and deserted courts.

For fifteen days did the Christians successfully resist the utmost efforts of the enemy; the monks and the canons, the bishops and the priests, took arms in defence of the Holy Sepulchre, and lined in warlike array the dark gray battlements and towers of Jerusalem. But the Mussulman archers soon became so numerous and so expert, that the garrison durst not show themselves upon the walls. "The arrows fell," says our worthy countryman, abbot Coggleshale, one of the brave defenders of the place, "as thick as hail upon the battlements, so that no one could lift a finger above the walls without being maimed. So great indeed was the number of the wounded, that it was as much as all the doctors of the city and of the Hospital could do to extract the weapons from their bodies. The face of the narrator of these events was lacerated with an arrow which pierced right through his nose; the wooden shaft was withdrawn, but a piece of the iron head remains there to this day." †

* Illinc viduas orphanos, puerosque brachiis ad Dominum extensis per ecclesias, et plateas, catervatim et squalenti vultu incedere, oreque innocenti lacrymabiliter conclamare, divinamque clementiam, sanctorumque patrocinia incessanter implorare. *Rad. Cogg.* col. 567.

† Cadebant autem sagittæ, sicut stillæ pluviarum ita ut nemo digitum ad propugnacula sine læsione poterat ostendere. Erat vero tanta multitudo vulneratorum ut vix omnes medici civitatis vel hospitalis tela corporibus infixa valebant extrahere. Nam et facies hæc referentis sagitta, per medium nasum infixa vulnerata est, atque extracto ligno ferrum usque hodie permansit. Ib. 568.

Jerusalem was crowded with fugitives who had been driven into the Holy City from the provinces. The houses could not contain them, and the streets were filled with women and children, who slept night after night upon the cold pavement.* GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

At the expiration of a fortnight, Saladin finding his incessant attacks continually foiled, retired from the walls, and employed his troops in the construction of military engines, stationing ten thousand cavalry around the city to intercept fugitives, and prevent the introduction of supplies. When his engines were completed, he directed all his efforts against the northern wall of the city, which extends between St. Stephen's gate and the gate of Jaffa. Ten thousand soldiers were attached to the military engines, and were employed day and night in thundering against the fortifications. The walls and towers shook under the blows of the battering rams, and the terrified inhabitants crowded into the churches with bitter cries of "*Sancta Maria, Sancta Maria, adjuva nos.*" Barefoot processions of women, monks, and priests were made to the holy sepulchre, to implore the Son of God to save his tomb and his inheritance from impious violation. The females, as a mark of humility and distress, cut off their hair and cast it to the winds; and the ladies of Jerusalem made their daughters do penance by standing up to their necks in tubs of cold water placed upon Mount Calvary. But it availed nought, "for our Lord Jesus Christ," says the chronicler, "would not listen to any prayer that they made, for the filth, the luxury, and the adultery which prevailed in the city did not suffer prayer or supplication to ascend before God." †

* *Contin. hist.* col. 611.

† Les dames de Jerusalem firent prendre *cuves*, et mettre en la place devant le Monte

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To prevent the garrison from attempting to break the force of the battering-rams, Saladin constructed vast mangonels and machines, which cast enormous stones and flaming beams of timber, covered with pitch and naphtha, upon the ramparts, and over the walls into the city. He moreover employed miners to sap the foundations of the towers, and on the 16th of October the angle of the northern wall, where it touches the valley of Gehinnon was thrown down with a tremendous crash. The appalling intelligence spread like wildfire through the city, and filled every heart with lamentation and mourning. Friends embraced one another as it were for the last time; mothers clung to their little ones, anticipating with heart-rending agony the fearful moment when they would be torn from them for ever; and the men gazed around in gloomy silence, appalled and stupified. Young mothers might be seen carrying their babes in their arms to Mount Calvary, and placing them before the altars of the church of the Resurrection, as if they thought that the sweet innocence of these helpless objects would appease the wrath of heaven. The panick-stricken garrison deserted the fortifications, but the infidels fortunately deferred the assault until the succeeding morning. During the night attempts were made, but in vain, to organize a strong guard to watch the breach. "With my own ears," says abbot Coggleshale, "I heard it proclaimed, between the wall and the counterscarp, by the Patriarch and the chief men of the city, that if fifty strong and valiant foot-soldiers would undertake to guard for one night only the angle which had been overthrown, they should receive fifty

Cauviaire, et emplir *d'eue froide*, et firent lors filles entrer jusq'au col, et couper lor treices et jeter les. *Contin. hist.* ut sup, col. 615.

golden byzants; but none could be found to undertake the duty." * GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

In the morning a suppliant deputation proceeded to Saladin to implore his mercy, but ere they reached the imperial tent the assault had commenced, and twelve banners of the prophet waved in triumph upon the breach. The haughty sultan accordingly refused to hear the messengers, and dismissed them, declaring that he would take Jerusalem from the Franks as they had taken it from the Moslems, that is to say, *sword in hand.*† But some spirit of resistance had at last been infused into the quailing garrison, the few Templars and Hospitallers in Jerusalem manned the breach, and in a desperate struggle the Moslems were repulsed, and the standards of the prophet were torn down from the walls. The messengers then returned to Saladin, and declared that if he refused to treat for the surrender of Jerusalem, the Christians would set fire to the temple or mosque of Omar, would destroy all the treasures they possessed in the city, and massacre their Moslem prisoners. The announcement of these desperate determinations, which was accompanied with the offer of a very considerable ransom, induced Saladin to listen to terms, and a treaty was entered into with the Christians to the following effect. The Moslems were immediately to be put into possession of all the gates of Jerusalem, and the liberty and security of the inhabitants were to be purchased in

* Ego siquidem *auribus meis audivi* sub voce præconiâ ex parte Patriarchæ et cæterorum magnorum civitatis, inter murum et antemurale, conclamare, ut si quinquaginta servientes fortes et audaces inventi fuissent qui angulum dirutum illa nocte tantum custodirent 50 millia Byzantiorum accepissent, nec fuerunt inventi.—*Rad. Cogg.* col. 570.

† *Contin. hist.* col. 614. *Bohadin*, cap. 36. *Abu'l Farag.* chron. p. 415, 416.

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the following manner. Every man was to pay to Saladin ten golden bezants as a ransom, every woman five, and every child under seven years was to pay one bezant.* When these terms, so disgraceful to the christian negotiators, were known in the Holy City, nothing could exceed the grief and indignation of the poorer classes of people, who had no money wherewith to pay the ransom, and had consequently been delivered up to perpetual bondage by their richer *christian* brethren. All resistance on their part, however, to the treaty was then hopeless; the poor had been betrayed by the rich; the infidels were already in possession of the tower of David, and their spears were gleaming in the streets of the Holy City.

It is recorded to the praise of the few Templars and Hospitallers who were then in Jerusalem, that they spent all the money they possessed in ransoming their poor christian brethren, whom they escorted in safety to Tripoli. The number of those who, being unable to pay the ransom, were reduced to a state of hopeless slavery, is estimated at fourteen thousand, men, women and children. They were sold in the common slave-markets, and distributed through all the Mussulman countries of Asia. The women became the concubines and the handmaids of their masters, and the children were educated in the Mohammedan faith.

The Arabian writers express their astonishment at the number of the christian captives, and give a heart-rending account of their sorrows and misfortunes. One of them tells us that he saw in his native village a fair European woman, bright as the morning star, who had two beautiful children. She seldom spoke, but remained

* *Contin. hist.* ut sup. col. 615. *Rad. Cogg.* col. 570. *Abu'l Farag.* chron. p. 415, 416. *Abulfed.* chron. ad ann. hejir. 583.

the live-long day absorbed in melancholy contemplation; there was, says he, such a sweetness and gentleness in her deportment, that it made one's heart ache to see her. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

"When I was at Aleppo," says the historian, Azz'eddin Ali Ibn Al'atsyr, who fought in Saladin's army, and was present at the battle of Tiberias, "I had for a slave one of the christian women taken at Jaffa. She had with her a little child, about a year old, and many a bitter tear did she shed over this tender infant. I did my best to comfort her, but she exclaimed, 'Alas, sir, it is not for this child that I weep; I had a husband and two sisters, and I know not what has become of them. I had also six brothers, all of whom have perished.' This is the case of one person only. Another day I saw at Aleppo a christian slave accompanying her master to the house of a neighbour. The master knocked at the door, and another Frank woman came to open it; the two females immediately give a loud cry; they rush into each other arms; they weep; they sit down on the ground and enter into conversation. They were two sisters who had been sold as slaves to different masters, and had been brought without knowing it to the same town." *

Thus fell the holy city of Jerusalem, eighty-eight years after its conquest by Godfrey de Bouillon and the crusaders. Our excellent chronicler, Radolph, abbot of Coggleshale, who was redeemed from bondage by payment of the ten golden bezants, throws a pitying glance upon the misfortunes and miseries of the poor captives, but attributes the fall of Jerusalem, and all the calamities consequent

* See the extracts from the Kamel Altawarykh of *Ibn-Alatsyr*. Extraits des Historiens Arabes par *M. Michaud*. Bib. des Croisades, p. 464.

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thereon, to the sins and iniquities of the inhabitants. "They honoured God," says he, "with their lips, but their hearts were far from him." He speaks of the beautiful women who thronged Jerusalem, and of the general corruption of the city, and exclaims, in the words of the prophet, "The Lord hath said unto the heathen, Go ye up against her walls and destroy, take away her battlements, for they are not the Lord's."

Immediately after the surrender of the city (October 11, A.D. 1187) the Moslems rushed to the Temple in thousands. "The Imauns and the doctors and expounders of the wicked errors of Mahomet," says Abbot Coggleshale, "first ascended to the Temple of the Lord, called by the infidels *Beit Allah*, (the house of God,) in which, as a place of prayer and religion, they place their great hope of salvation. With horrible bellowings they proclaimed the law of Mahomet, and vociferated, with polluted lips, ALLAH *Acbar* —ALLAH *Acbar*, (GOD is victorious.) They defiled all the places that are contained within the Temple; i. e. the place of the presentation, where the mother and glorious Virgin Mary delivered the Son of God into the hands of the just Simeon; and the place of the confession, looking towards the porch of Solomon, where the Lord judged the woman taken in adultery. They placed guards that no Christian might enter within the seven atria of the Temple; and as a disgrace to the Christians, with vast clamour, with laughter and mockery, they hurled down the golden cross from the pinnacle of the building, and dragged it with ropes throughout the city, amid the exulting shouts of the infidels and the tears and lamentations of the followers of Christ."*

* Flentibus christianis, crines et vestes rumpentibus, pectora et capita tundentibus, says the worthy abbot. Chron. Terræ Sanctæ, ut sup. col. 572, 573.

When every Christian had been removed from the precincts of the Temple, Saladin proceeded with vast pomp to say his prayers in the *Beit Allah*, the holy house of God, or "Temple of the Lord," erected by the Caliph Omar. He was preceded by five camels laden with rose-water, which he had procured from Damascus,* and he entered the sacred courts to the sound of martial music, and with his banners streaming in the wind. The *Beit Allah*, "the Temple of the Lord," was then again consecrated to the service of one God and his prophet Mahomet; the walls and pavements were washed and purified with rose-water; and a pulpit, the labour of Noureddin, was erected in the sanctuary. The following account of these transactions was forwarded to Henry the Second, king of England. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A.D. 1187.

"To the beloved Lord Henry, by the grace of God, the illustrious king of the English, duke of Normandy and Guienne, and count of Anjou, Brother Terric, *formerly* Grand Preceptor of the house of the Temple at JERUSALEM, sendeth greeting,—salvation through him who saveth kings.

"Know that Jerusalem, with the citadel of David, hath been surrendered to Saladin. The Syrian Christians, however, have the custody of the holy sepulchre up to the fourth day after Michaëlmas, and Saladin himself hath permitted ten of the brethren of the Hospital to remain in the house of the hospital for the space of one year, to take care of the sick. . . . . Jerusalem, alas, hath

* Saladin ot mandé a Damas por euë rose assés por le Temple laver . . . il avoit quatre chamiex ou cinq tous chargiés.—Contin. hist. Bell. Sacr. col. 621.

† *Bohadin*, cap. xxxvi, and the extracts from *Abulfeda*, apud *Schultens*, cap. xxvii. p. 42, 43. *Ib'n Alatsyr.*

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fallen; Saladin hath caused the cross to be thrown down from the summit of the Temple of the Lord, and for two days to be publicly kicked and dragged in the dirt through the city. He then caused the Temple of the Lord to be washed within and without, upwards and downwards, with rose-water, and the law of Mahomet to be proclaimed throughout the four quarters of the Temple with wonderful clamour. . . . ." *

Bohadin, Saladin's secretary, mentions as a remarkable and happy circumstance, that the holy city was surrendered to the sultan of most pious memory, and that God restored to the faithful their sanctuary on the twenty-seventh of the month Regeb, on the night of which very day their most glorious prophet Mahomet performed his wonderful nocturnal journey from the Temple, through the seven heavens, to the throne of God. He also describes the sacred congregation of the Mussulmen gathered together in the Temple and the solemn prayer offered up to God; the shouting and the sounds of applause, and the voices lifted up to heaven, causing the holy buildings to resound with thanks and praises to the most bountiful Lord God. He glories in the casting down of the golden cross, and exults in the very splendid triumph of Islam.†

Saladin restored the sacred area of the Temple to its original condition under the first Mussulman conquerors of Jerusalem. The ancient christian church of the Virgin (otherwise the mosque *Al Aesa*, otherwise the Temple of Solomon) was washed with rose-water, and was once again dedicated to the religious services of the

* *Hoveden*, annal. apud Rer. Angl. script. post Bedam, p. 645, 646.

† *Bohadin* apud *Schultens*, cap. xxxvi.

Moslems. On the western side of this venerable edifice the Templars had erected, according to the Arabian writers, an immense building in which they lodged, together with granaries of corn and various offices, which enclosed and concealed a great portion of the edifice. Most of these were pulled down by the sultan to make a clear and open area for the resort of the Mussulmen to prayer. Some new erections placed between the columns in the interior of the structure were taken away, and the floor was covered with the richest carpets. "Lamps innumerable," says Ibn Alatsyr, "were suspended from the ceiling; verses of the Koran were again inscribed on the walls; the call to prayer was again heard; the bells were silenced; the exiled faith returned to its ancient sanctuary; the devout Mussulmen again bent the knee in adoration of the one only God, and the voice of the imaun was again heard from the pulpit, reminding the true believers of the resurrection and the last judgment."* GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

The Friday after the surrender of the city, the army of Saladin, and crowds of true believers, who had flocked to Jerusalem from all parts of the East, assembled in the Temple of the Lord to assist in the religious services of the Mussulman sabbath. Omad, Saladin's secretary, who was present, gives the following interesting account of the ceremony, and of the sermon that was preached. "On Friday morning at daybreak," says he, "everybody was asking whom the sultan had appointed *to preach*. The Temple was full; the congregation was impatient; all eyes were fixed on the pulpit; the ears were on the stretch; our hearts beat fast, and tears trickled down our faces. On all sides were to be heard rapturous exclama-

* *Ibn-Alatsyr*, hist Arab. and the *Raoudhatein*, or "the two gardens." Excerpta ex *Abul feda* apud *Schultens*, cap. xxvii. p. 43. *Wilken* Comment. Abulfed. hist. p. 148.

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tions of 'What a glorious sight! What a congregation! Happy are those who have lived to see *the resurrection of Islam.*' At length the sultan ordered the judge (doctor of the law) *Mohieddin Aboulmehali-Mohammed* to fulfil the sacred function of imaun. I immediately lent him the black vestment which I had received as a present from the caliph. He then mounted into the pulpit and spoke. All were hushed. His expressions were graceful and easy; and his discourse eloquent and much admired. He spoke of the virtue and the sanctity of Jerusalem, of the purification of the Temple; he alluded to the silence of the bells, and to the flight of the infidel priests. In his prayer he named the caliph and the sultan, and terminated his discourse with that chapter of the Koran in which God orders justice and good works. He then descended from the pulpit, and prayed in the Mihrah. Immediately afterwards a sermon was preached before the congregation."

This sermon was delivered by *Mohammed Ben Zeky*. "Praise be to God," saith the preacher, "who by the power of his might hath raised up Islamism on the ruins of Polytheism; who governs all things according to his will; who overthroweth the devices of the infidels, and causeth the truth to triumph. . . . . I praise God, who hath succoured his elect; who hath rendered them victorious and crowned them with glory, who hath purified his holy house from the filthiness of idolatry. . . . . I bear witness that there is no God but that one great God who standeth alone and hath no partner; sole, supreme, eternal; who begetteth not and is not begotten, and hath no equal. I bear witness that Mahomet is his servant, his envoy, and his prophet, who hath dissipated doubts, confounded polytheism, and put down LIES, &c. . . . . .

"O men, declare ye the blessings of God, who hath restored to you this holy city, after it has been left in the power of the infidels for a hundred years. . . . . This holy house of the Lord hath been built, and its foundations have been established, for the glory of God. . . . . This sacred spot is the dwelling-place of the prophets, the *kebla*, (place of prayer,) towards which you turn at the commencement of your religious duties, the birth-place of the saints, the scene of the revelation. It is thrice holy, for the angels of God spread their wings over it. This is that blessed land of which God hath spoken in his sacred book. In this house of prayer, Mahomet prayed with the angels who approach God. It is to this spot that all fingers are turned after the two holy places. . . . . This conquest, O men, hath opened unto you the gates of heaven; the angels rejoice, and the eyes of the prophets glisten with joy." The preacher proceeds, in a high strain of enthusiasm, to enlarge upon the merits of the holy war. "The holy war, the holy war!" says he, "is better than religious worship; it is the noblest of your occupations. Aid God, and he will assist you; protect the Lord, and he will protect you; remember him, and he will have you in remembrance; do good to him, and he will do good to you. Cut off the branches of iniquity; purify the earth from unbelievers, and destroy the nations who have excited the wrath of God and his apostle, &c. . . . !"* GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

Omad informs us that the marble altar and chapel which had been erected over the sacred rock in the Temple of the Lord, or mosque of Omar, was removed by Saladin, together with the stalls for the priests, the marble statues, and all the abominations which had been placed in the venerated building by the Christians. The

* *Kholbeh*, or sermon of *Mohammed Ben Zeky.—Michaud*, Extraits Arabes.

GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

Mussulmen discovered with horror that some pieces of the holy stone or rock had been cut off by the Franks, and sent to Europe. Saladin caused it to be immediately surrounded by a grate of iron. He washed it with rose-water, and Malek-Afdal covered it with magnificent carpets.

Saladin, in his famous letter to the caliph, giving an account of the conquest of Jerusalem, exclaims—

"God hath at length turned towards the supporters of the true faith; he hath let loose his wrath against the infidels, and hath driven them from his sanctuary. . . . . The infidels have erected churches in the holy city, and the great houses of the Templars and Hospitallers. In these structures are rich marbles and many precious things. Thy servant hath restored the Mosque Al-Acsa (the Temple of Solomon) to its ancient destination. He hath appointed imauns to celebrate divine service, and on the 14th chaaban they preached the *khotbeh* (sermon). The heavens are rent with joy, and the stars dance with delight. The word of God hath been exalted, and the tombs of the prophets, which the infidels had defiled, have been purified ! !"*

Saladin restored the fortifications of Jerusalem; he founded several schools, and converted the great house of the Hospitallers into a college. He then quitted the Holy City to pursue his military operations in the field. The Templars still maintained themselves in some of the strongest castles of Palestine, and the maritime city of Tyre continued to resist all the attacks of the Moslems. This important sea-port was preserved to the Christians by the valour and military talents of the young Conrad, marquis of Mont-

* *Michaud* pieces justificatives, No. ix. 485.

ferrat. This gallant nobleman was the brother of the fifth marquis of that name, the first husband of Queen Sibylla, and was sojourning at the court of the emperor of Constantinople when the war between Saladin and the Christians broke out. He sailed from the Imperial City to Acre, and arrived there just after the place had surrendered to the infidels. He then continued his voyage to Tyre, and throwing himself with his followers into that town, he manfully defended it for several weeks against all the efforts of the Mussulmen. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

Saladin proceeded in person to Tyre, to conduct the operations against this important place, the only sea-port remaining in the hands of the Christians. He caused vast military engines to be transported to the spot, and ordered his fleet up from Egypt. But the indefatigable Conrad had digged a ditch across the isthmus which connects Tyre with the main land, and so made the place an island, he had repaired the fortifications, and planted a number of catapults and balistæ in boats, which were stationed on either side of the isthmus, so as to take an advancing enemy in flank. Saladin's exertions were incessant; he was on horseback from morn till night, and was assisted by his sons, his brother, and his nephew, all of whom commanded in the field under the eye of the sultan, and animated the troops by their example; but the valour and skill of the besieged equalled that of the besiegers, and the position of the town was such that the Moslems could derive no advantage from their superior numbers.

The following account of the progress of the siege and of the condition of the few remaining christian possessions in Palestine at this period was conveyed by the before-mentioned Brother Terric,

GERARD DE RIDERFORT A.D 1187. Grand Preceptor of the Temple, and Treasurer General of the order, to Henry II. king of England.

"The brothers of the hospital of Belvoir as yet bravely resist the Saracens; they have captured two convoys, and have valiantly possessed themselves of the munitions of war and provisions which were being conveyed by the Saracens from the fortress of La Feue. As yet, also, Carach, in the neighbourhood of Mount Royal, Mount Royal itself, the Temple of Saphet, the hospital of Carach, Margat, and Castellum Blancum, and the territory of Tripoli, and the territory of Antioch, resist Saladin. . . . . From the feast of Saint Martin, up to that of the circumcision of the Lord, Saladin hath besieged Tyre incessantly, by night and by day, throwing into it immense stones from thirteen military engines. On the vigils of St. Silvester, the Lord Conrad, the marquis of Monferrat, distributed knights and foot soldiers along the wall of the city, and having armed seventeen galleys and ten small vessels, with the assistance of the house of the Hospital and the brethren of the Temple, he engaged the galleys of Saladin, and vanquishing them he captured eleven, and took prisoners the great admiral of Alexandria and eight other admirals, a multitude of the infidels being slain. The rest of the Mussulman galleys, escaping the hands of the Christians, fled to the army of Saladin, and being run aground by his command, were set on fire and burnt to ashes. Saladin himself, overwhelmed with grief, having *cut off the ears and the tail of his horse*, rode that same horse through his whole army in the sight of all. Farewell!" *

* *Hoveden* ut sup. p. 646. *Continuhist.* ut sup. col. 623. *Schahab'eddin* in the Raoudhatein. —*Ibn Alatsyr* ut sup. p. 474—477.

Tyre continued to be valiantly defended until the winter had set in, and then the disappointed sultan, despairing of taking the place, burnt his military engines and retired to Damascus. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1187.

The king of Jerusalem, and the Grand Master of the Temple, who had, as before mentioned, been residing at Naplous, under the surveillance of Saladin's officers, were now set at full liberty, pursuant to the treaty of Ascalon, on the understanding that they would immediately proceed to Tyre and embark for Europe. Queen Sibylla, who was in Jerusalem at the time of its surrender to Saladin, had been permitted to join her royal husband at Naplous, and the king, the queen, and the Grand Master of the Temple, consequently proceeded together to Tyre. On their arrival at that place, they found the gates shut against them. The young Conrad declared, that as the city had been preserved solely by the swords of himself and his followers, it justly belonged to him, and that neither the king nor the queen of Jerusalem any longer possessed authority within it. Cruelly repelled from Tyre, the king and queen, with their infant children, the Grand Master of the Temple, and the Patriarch Heraclius, proceeded to Antioch.* If it is true that they had taken an oath to quit Palestine for ever, they must have obtained a dispensation from the pope or the patriarch, for they were speedily engaged in hostilities with Saladin, and in active attempts to recover their lost footing in the Holy Land.

As soon as the winter rains had subsided, Saladin took the field, and attempted to reduce various strong castles of the Templars and Hospitallers, which still continued to defy his arms, and to cause him considerable uneasiness. The most formidable of these were

* *Contin. hist.* ut sup. Hist. Hierosol. apud Gesta Dei, tom. i. pars. ii. p. 1155.

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the castles of Saphet and Kowkab; (the star;) the one belonging to the order of the Temple, and the other to the order of the Hospital of Saint John. Saphet is one of the four holy cities of the Talmud, and is held in peculiar veneration by the Jews. The castle of the Templars crowned the summit of a lofty mountain, along the sides of which extended the houses and churches of the town. It was the strongest fortress possessed by the order in Palestine. The walls were more than a mile in circumference, and were defended by vast towers and deep ditches. From the ramparts the eye ranged over a rich prospect of luxuriant vineyards and smiling villages, and embraced a grand panoramic view of lofty mountains. Through the valley below rolled the Jordan; to the southward extended the vast blue expanse of the lake of Tiberias; and in the north-east the snowy summits of Anti-Lebanon might be seen piercing the skies. This important fortress commanded the greater part of Galilee; it had always been a great check upon the incursions of the infidels, and was considered one of the bulwarks of the Latin kingdom. Saladin's exertions, consequently, for the capture of the place were strenuous and incessant. He planted a large body of troops around it, under the command of his brother Saifeddin; but the season was not far enough advanced for their operations to be carried on with any chance of success. The tents of the besiegers were blown off the mountain by the furious whirlwinds, and the operation of the military engines was impeded by heavy rains. The Templars made continued sallies upon the works, burnt the military engines, butchered the soldiers in their sleep, and harassed them with incessant alarms in the dead of night. The siege was consequently turned into a blockade, and

Saladin drew off the greater part of his forces to attack the christian possessions in the principality of Antioch. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1188.

The Mussulman besiegers of the neighbouring castle of Kowkab (the star) shared even a worse fate than those who were beleaguering Saphet. In the middle of the night, during a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning, the sentries had retired from their posts to shelter themselves under their tents, and the brave Hospitallers, watching their opportunity, rushed into the Saracen camp, and plunged their swords into the bodies of the sleeping infidels. So successfully did they manage their desperate sally, that, according to the testimony of the Arabian writers themselves, scarce a Mussulman survived to tell the tale. The Hospitallers took all the tents, arms, baggage, and provisions, and returned back into their fortress better provided with the things necessary for their defence than they were at the commencement of the siege. Saladin was sadly vexed and mortified at the disaster, and immediately despatched another general with a fresh body of troops to observe Kowkab.* Shortly afterwards, however, finding that the place had been rendered by art and by nature almost impregnable, and that it was defended by a brave and numerous garrison, he ordered his general to retire from before it, and rejoin him in Syria.

Saladin was at this period preparing to push his conquests into the rich and powerful principality of Antioch. His tents were pitched on the banks of the lake of Kades near Emesa or Hems, which had been appointed by him the place of general rendezvous. To this point, as soon as the winter rains had subsided, came

* *Ibn Alatsyr*, ut sup, p. 478. *Bohadin*, cap. 39.

GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A.D. 1188.

crowds of Mussulmen from all the neighbouring countries. When they were all assembled," says I'bn Alatsyr, "Saladin marched to the castle of the Curds, and encamped on the eastern side of that fortress. I was then in the camp. We remained there two days, and leaving our heavy baggage at that place, we marched into the territories of the Franks." Saladin divided his army into several detachments, which were sent in different directions, with orders to ravage all the neighbouring country, drive away the oxen, sheep, and cattle, and collect the booty together in the plain of the Orontes, along the banks of the lake of Kades. These orders were vigorously executed, and Ibn Alatsyr tells us that it was quite wonderful to see the quantity of spoil that was gathered together. Saladin proceeded with the main body of his army to subjugate all the chief cities and castles in the principalities of Tripoli and Antioch. He crossed the vast mountain ranges which extend between the Orontes and the sea-coast, and appeared in arms before the gates of Tripoli. Strenuous preparations had been made to receive him, and the sultan contented himself with reconnoitering the place and examining its defences; having done which, he directed his march upon Tortosa. The Grand Master of the Temple, who was anxiously watching Saladin's movements, immediately threw himself into the strong castle of the Templars at that place, and prepared to defend the town; but the fortifications were weak, the inhabitants were panick-stricken, and the Templars, after a short struggle, were compelled to abandon the city, and retire behind their fortifications. There they maintained a fierce and bloody contest with the Moslems, and during the various assaults and sallies the town was set on fire and burnt to the

ground. Bohadin gives a fearful account of the destruction of the great cathedral church, and of the roaring and crackling of the flames as they burst through the huge cedar beams and timbers of the roof. He says that thousands of faithful Mussulmen gathered around the vast and venerable pile, and raised exulting shouts as they witnessed the progress of the fire, lifting up their voices to heaven, and returning thanks to the most bountiful Lord God for the destruction of the Temple of the idolaters.* GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1188.

Having failed in all his attempts to take the castle of the Templars, Saladin drew off his forces, leaving the once populous and flourishing town of Tortosa a dreary desert. He then marched by the coast-road to the fortress of Marakia, which he found abandoned and deserted. Having taken possession of this place, and refreshed his men, he continued his march to the castle of Merkab, a strong fortress of the Hospitallers. There Saladin found no deserted walls, nor abandoned battlements, but a courageous and active enemy, determined to dispute every inch of the ground. The fortress of Merkab commanded the great coast-road leading from Antioch to Palestine and Egpyt. It was seated on the summit of a craggy precipitous mountain, the base of which was washed by the sea. The road passed between the sea and the castle, and was exposed to the stones and darts of the military engines on the battlements. The flank of Saladin's advancing army was moreover attacked by a fleet of gallies and small vessels, which stood close into the shore, and kept up a continual discharge of darts and arrows upon his exhausted soldiers. The road was so narrow that only two men could walk abreast, and nothing could exceed the skill and

* *Bohadin*, cap. 41. *Ibn Alatsyr*, ut sup. p. 479.

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energy of the sultan in forcing the pass. He collected together sheep's skins, and goat's skins, wool and cotton, bags filled with sand, and large curtains stretched on poles, and with these he made ramparts and screens along the narrow pathway to protect his troops as they marched through. Behind these defences, and in different positions along the road, he placed expert archers, who shot clouds of arrows upon the Christians wherever they showed themselves. By these means the sultan succeeded in passing his whole army under the walls of Merkab, having done which he marched upon the city of Gabala, which surrendered after a short siege. Then the sultan approached in warlike array the far-famed Laodicea; the panic-stricken inhabitants refused to defend the town, and abandoned the fortifications, but some Templars and other knights, throwing themselves into the citadel with their followers, boldly resisted the attacks of the infidels. Saladin laid siege to the place in due form; he planted his military engines, and opened a breach of sixty cubits in the walls. The assault was then ordered, but the Mussulmen were defeated with frightful carnage. They were unwilling to renew the attack, and the garrison were offered their lives and liberties in return for the surrender of the fortress. The next day a capitulation was signed, the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, and the banners of Islam were then planted upon the towers and battlements. Both Ibn Alatsyr and Bohadin give an enthusiastic description of the town and its environs. They speak of its noble harbour, its beautiful houses, elegant villas, rich marbles, luxuriant gardens, and shady groves.* All these became the prey of the

* *Ibn Alatsyr*, ut sup. p. 481. *Bohadin*, cap. 42.

fierce Mussulman soldiery, who committed great excesses. They broke to pieces choice specimens of ancient sculpture, considering them hated evidences of idolatry; they stripped all the churches of their ornaments, and sold the sacred vestments of the priests. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1188.

From Laodicea, Saladin marched to Sohioun or Sekyun, a fortress of prodigious strength, situate amongst the mountains midway between Gabala and the Orontes. It was almost entirely surrounded by a deep precipitous ravine, the sides of which were in many places perpendicular. After a siege of five days, a part of the Mussulman soldiers clambered over some rocks which were thought to be inaccessible, climbed the outer wall of the town, and opened the gates to their companions; the second and third walls were then carried by assault, and the citadel surrendered after a short siege.* Many other important cities and castles speedily fell into the hands of the victorious Saladin. Among these were the city of Bakas, or Bacas, on the banks of the Orontes and the castle of Al Shokhr, which was connected with the town by a bridge over the river; the castle of Al Jahmâhûnîn, near Gabala; Blatanous, near Antioch; Sarminiah, or Sarmaniya, a fortress, a day's journey N. E. of Aleppo: and many other places of note. All the towns and castles between Sarminiah and Gabala surrendered to the Moslems. "Glory be to God," says Ibn Alatsyr, "who hath made easy that which appeared to be difficult."†

Saladin now recrossed the Orontes, and proceeded to lay siege to Berzyeh, or Borzya, a fortress opposite to Apamea, and situate between the river Orontes and the sea-coast. This place was pro-

* *Ibn Alatsyr*, p. 482, 483. *Bohadin*, cap. 43.

† *Ibn Alatsyr*, p. 483, 484. *Bohadin*, cap. 44.

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verbial amongst the Franks for its strength. Between the town and the city of Apamea, was a lake formed by the Orontes, and between the lake and the castle passed the high road from Antioch, through Apamea, to Emesa, or Hems. The fortress of Berzyeh commanded this line of communication, and it was, therefore, a place of very great importance. Some Templars had thrown themselves into the citadel, and animated the garrison to a strenuous resistance. "I saw with my own eyes," says Ibn Alatsyr, "as I stood on the eminence opposite the citadel—I saw, I say, with my own eyes, a woman fit a huge stone to a military engine, and lance it upon the heads of the Mussulmen!" After several unsuccessful attacks, Saladin divided his army into three corps, and employed one division at a time in the assault, so that he had always at hand a reserve of fresh soldiers. The weather was intensely hot, the besieged were in want of water, and Saladin endeavoured to weary them out by perpetual assaults. He was constantly to be seen sword in hand upon the rocks, animating his troops, and at last, during a very hot day, when the garrison had been fighting from sunrise till noon, and defending with difficulty the various points attacked by the Moslems, Saladin suddenly called up his reserve, placed himself at their head, scaled the fortifications, and entered the town sword in hand. The houses were set on fire, the streets were drenched with blood, and the city speedily presented an awful scene of carnage and desolation. All those of the inhabitants and of the garrison who escaped the general massacre, were made slaves. The governor and his wife and children were loaded with chains, and many well-born christian ladies received the most brutal treatment from the barbarous Mussulmen. The wife of the governor of Ber-

zyeh was the sister of the wife of Bohemond, prince of Antioch, and the last named lady sent letters to Saladin, interceding with him for the liberation of her sister. These letters were accompanied with rich presents, and Saladin was induced to comply with the request contained in them, and to strike the chains off his illustrious captives.* GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1188.

From Berzyeh, Saladin marched down the vast and fertile plain of the Orontes, to the famous iron bridge over that river, about 6 or 7 miles from Antioch, with a view of besieging the strong castle of the Knights Templars, called Derbazâc, or Darbêsak; but as he well knew that the game of war was no child's play, whenever these holy warriors had a hand in it, he determined to halt at the iron bridge until he was joined by the rear guard of his army, which was then a considerable distance behind him. On the 8th Regeb, having collected his forces together, and procured a vast number of powerful military engines, he moved forward against Darbêsak, and immediately invested it. The walls were surrounded with wooden towers, filled with expert archers, who swept the battlements with their arrows. Under cover of these towers, battering rams were placed in position, and worked with such skill and success, that a vast breach was speedily made in the walls. Saladin's body-guard moved forward to the assault, supported by crowds of archers on either flank, but the military friars of the Temple filled up the breach with their bodies, and after a bloody contest the Mussulmen were driven back, leaving the ground covered with their dead. The Templars repaired the breach, and the sultan shifted his ground of



* *Ibn Alatsyr*, p. 485, 486, 487. *Bohadin*, cap. 45.

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attack. Hurdles covered with raw hides were advanced against the walls, and an expert party of miners were employed, under cover of these hurdles, to undermine a huge tower, which was considered to be the key of the fortifications. The tower was so well and strongly built, that it resisted for a length of time all the efforts of the miners; they dug away a great part of the foundations, and the tower appeared, says Ibn Alatsyr, to be suspended in the air. At last, however, it fell with a tremendous crash, carrying along with it into the ditch a vast portion of the walls on either side, so that a large yawning gap was opened in the fortifications. Again the Mussulmen rushed to the assault with loud exulting shouts, and again they were hurled back from the breach by the stout arms of the never-quailing warriors of the Temple, leaving the heaps of stone, and the vast masses of shattered walls around them, crimsoned with the blood of their best men. Bohadin, who witnessed the assault, declares that he never saw such an obstinate defence. As soon as any one of the Templars fell, another, he tells us, would immediately take his place, and thus they remained upon the breach immoveable as a rock.* At last, it was agreed that if the fortress was not succoured by the prince of Antioch, within a given period, the Templars should surrender it, and march out with their arms in their hands. No succour arrived by the appointed time, and the place was consequently given up to the Mussulmen.†

Immediately after the surrender of Darbêsak, Saladin marched

* Ipse meis vidi oculis, uno eorum cadente, alter mox eundem locum occuparet, immotique perstarent ad instar muri. *Bohadin* apud *Schultens*, p. 35.

† Kamel Altawarykh, or complete history of Ibn Alatsyr. *Michaud*, extraits ut sup. p. 487, 488. *Bohadin*, cap. 46

upon Bagras, a town situate at the foot of Mount Al Locam, and pushed on his advanced guard to the environs of the vast and populous city of Antioch, but he contented himself with the mere sight of the place, and declined to undertake the siege of it. He remained for some time in observation before the city, and sent out detachments in different directions to lay waste the surrounding country, and collect spoil. The population of Antioch was estimated at 150,000 souls; nearly all the surviving Templars of the principality were collected together within the walls, under the command of their valiant Grand Master, and the Prince Bohemond was at the head of a numerous and well-organised force, fully prepared for a desperate struggle in defence of his rich and princely city. Saladin consequently preferred entering into a truce to continuing the war, and concluded a treaty with Bohemond, whereby a suspension of arms was agreed upon for the term of eight months, to commence from the first of the approaching month of November, and it was stipulated that all the Moslem prisoners detained in Antioch should be immediately set at liberty.

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Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, Saladin returned by the valley of the Orontes to Damascus, and his troops became very impatient to be dismissed to their homes for the winter, but Saladin reminded them of the brevity and uncertainty of human life, told them that there was plenty of work before them, and that they ought not to leave for to-morrow that which could be done to-day. The fortresses of Kowkab, Saphet, and Carac, still continued to defy the arms of the Mussulmen, and the sallies of the garrisons kept all the neighbouring country in a state of constant alarm. Aware of the danger that would arise from the continuance of these

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fortresses, in the very heart of his recent conquests, Saladin left Damascus at the head of a large body of forces in the middle of the Ramadan, and proceeded in the first place to lay siege to Saphet. The separate timbers of his military engines were dragged by horses and mules up the craggy sides of the mountain, and brought into position, with great difficulty and labour, under the walls of the fortress. Bohadin accompanied the sultan, and gives an interesting account of his incessant exertions for the capture of the place. During a windy and tempestuous night, the sultan superintended the planting of five besieging engines. To every soldier he allotted a specific task, and turning to his secretary he said, "Let us not go to bed to-night, until these five engines are completed." Every now and then messengers came in to narrate the progress of the work, and Saladin spent the intermediate time in cheerful converse with his friend. The night was dark and long, the weather miserably wet and cold, and the ground covered with mud. Bohadin ventured to address some observations to his royal master, upon the imprudence of exposing himself to the inclemency of the season, and to so much watching and fatigue, but the pious sultan reminded him of the words of the prophet, "*The fire of hell shall not prevail against the eye that wakes and watches in the service of God, and the eye that weeps through fear of God.*"*

Saladin, Bohadin informs us, would not permit the most solemn of the Mussulman fasts, which he generally observed with great strictness, to interfere in any way with the operations of the siege, but continued, night and day, to press his attacks with incessant vigour.

* *Bohadin* apud *Schultens*, cap. 48.

The Templars, on the other hand, manfully defended themselves, and their brethren in Tyre made an attempt to send them succour. Two hundred valiant and determined soldiers set out from that city, and marched through the country by night, sheltering themselves in the daytime in caverns and solitary places amongst the mountains. They reached Saphet, and attempted to conceal themselves in the neighbourhood of the castle, until they could find an opportunity of communicating with their beleaguered brethren. Unfortunately one of their number strayed from his place of concealment, and was seen by a Mussulman emir, who immediately called out a strong guard, searched the neighbourhood, and took the whole party prisoners. They were brought into Saladin's presence and condemned to death; but before the sentence was carried into execution negotiations were entered into for the surrender of Saphet. The Templars in the fortress were ill provided with provisions; they had now lost all hope of succour, and they agreed to surrender, on condition that they should be permitted to march out with their arms to Tyre, in company with the prisoners whom Saladin had just taken. These terms were acceded to, and the fortifications of the strong castle of Saphet were speedily demolished by the infidels.*

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Saladin then moved upon Kowkab, the neighbouring fortress of the Hospitallers. This place was seated on the summit of a lofty precipitous mountain near Panias, just above the famous sources of the Jordan. Saladin placed his enormous military engines in position, and employed expert miners to undermine the foundations of the walls. One of the towers was speedily thrown down, a vast breach

* *Ibn Alatsyr*, ut sup. p 492. *Bohadin*, cap. 49.

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was made in the fortifications, and the Hospitallers, after a gallant defence, surrendered upon the same terms as those that had been granted to the Templars at Saphet. Having at last reduced the two strong castles of Kowkab and Saphet, Saladin joyfully returned to Damascus, and went into winter quarters, dismissing the greater part of his forces.

In the mean time all Europe had been thrown into consternation by the dismal intelligence of the fall of Jerusalem. Public prayers were put up in the churches, and fasts were ordered, as in times of great national calamities. Pope Urban III. is said to have died of grief, and the cardinals made a solemn resolution to renounce all kinds of diversions and pleasures, to receive no presents from any one who had causes depending in the court of Rome, and never to mount a horse as long as the Holy Land was trodden under foot by the infidels.* They, moreover, magnanimously declared that they would march on foot, at the head of armies of pilgrims, to the holy war, and would subsist by asking alms on the road. All this, however, as may be supposed, ended in talk; the cardinals staid at Rome, and no alteration was visible in their mode of life.

As soon as Pope Gregory VIII., the successor of Urban III., had been elected to the pontifical chair by the college of cardinals, he addressed apostolical letters to the sovereigns, bishops, nobles, and people of all christian countries, painting in pathetic terms the miserable disasters of the Latin Christians, the capture of the holy cross, the slaughter of the Templars and Hospitallers, and the fall

* Firmiter inter se promiserunt quod de cætero nulla munera recipient ab aliquo qui causam habeat in curiâ: non ascendant in equum quamdiu terra in qua pedes domini steterunt, fuerit sub pedibus inimici, &c.—*Hoveden*, ut sup. p. 636.

of Jerusalem. He declares that he is overwhelmed with horror and afflicted with grief, and exclaims, in the words of the Psalmist, "Lord, the nations have usurped thy heritage, they have spoiled thy temple; Jerusalem is nought but a desert, and the bodies of thy saints have become food for the beasts of the earth and the fowls of the air." He exhorts all faithful Christians immediately to assume the cross, and march to the deliverance of Jerusalem. GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1188.

"We promise," says the holy pontiff, "to all those who, with a contrite heart and humble spirit, and with a sincere faith, and earnest desire of obtaining a remission of their sins, undertake that difficult voyage, a plenary indulgence, and the everlasting life which results therefrom. Be it known to them, that whether they perish, or whether they return in safety, they are, through the great mercy of the all-powerful God, and by the authority of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and our own, released from all penance which may have been imposed on them, provided that they shall have made free and full confession of all their sins.

"The property of the crusaders, and their families, shall remain always under the protection of the archbishops and bishops, and other prelates of the church of God, &c. &c. . . . . "

Animated by the letters of the pope, and the exhortations of the clergy, crowds of armed pilgrims speedily quitted the shores of Europe for Palestine. The Templars, obedient to the pressing calls of their brethren, hurried from their preceptories to the sea-ports of the Mediterranean, and embarked in the ships of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice. During the winter, Tyre was crowded with the newly-arrived warriors, and with fugitives who had fled thither for refuge. Emboldened by their numbers, a large party of them

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crossed over to the main land, and marched towards Acre. They were encountered by one of Saladin's detachments, and were cut to pieces in a bloody battle fought near the sea-coast. A vast many Mussulmen were killed in this engagement, and amongst them was one of Saladin's favourite mamlook emirs. The combat was so terrible, says Ibn Alatsyr, that *the hair of the young men turned white*. This encounter quieted for a brief period the fiery spirits cooped up in Tyre; but after some time another sortie was made, and then the Mussulmen were defeated, leaving one hundred and eighty of their best men on the field of battle. A third action was fought at Tebnin, near Acre, in which a German general was slain, and a valiant Moslem youth of uncommon merit, named Ibn al Basârwâ.* Saladin became alarmed, and he hastened to concentrate a force sufficient to repel the intruders, and drive them back into Tyre.

The Grand Master of the Temple, on the other hand, hastened to place himself at the head of the newly-arrived battalions of the Templars, and once more took the field with the powerful forces of the order. He was accompanied by the king of Jerusalem, who unfolded the royal standard of the Latin kingdom, and invited the newly-arrived crusaders to rally around it. The small white tents of the Templars, each decorated with the red cross, were once more pitched on the plains of Palestine, and *Beauseant* again became the rallying point for the best and bravest of the European chivalry. The king of Jerusalem and the Grand Master established their head quarters at Ras el Ain, a small village on the main land opposite Tyre, and they soon found themselves at the head of a numerous

* *Bohadin*, cap. 51, 52, 53. *Abulfed*, chron. ad ann. Hejir. 584. *Ibn Alat.* p. 494, 495.

and well-appointed army. Many valiant Templars from the Temple at London, and the different preceptories of England, Scotland, and Ireland, joined their chief, and rallied around the red-cross banner. They brought with them arms, horses, clothing, and munitions of war, with a vast amount of treasure, which had been collected in the churches. They were the bearers likewise of a large sum of money which had been sent by king Henry the Second for the defence of Tyre. This money was delivered to the Grand Master, but as the siege of Tyre had been raised before its arrival, and the young Conrad claimed the sovereignty of the city, and set up his authority in opposition to that of the king of Jerusalem, Gerard de Riderfort very properly refused to deliver the money into his hands; whereupon Conrad wrote letters filled with bitter complaints to the archbishop of Canterbury and to king Henry. "Because I have preserved," says he in his letter to the latter, "the city of Tyre from the attacks of the infidels, I am become hateful to Guy de Lusignan, *formerly* king of Jerusalem, to the Master of the Temple, and the barons of the Latin kingdom, who are inflamed with envy, and do all they can to injure me; and what is worse than all, the Master of the Temple retains in his own hands the money sent by the king of England towards the defence of Tyre. . . . . But I render grateful thanks to God for what the Hospitallers have done, &c. &c." *

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At the commencement of the summer, the king of Jerusalem and the Grand Master of the Temple took the field at the head of an army of 9,000 men, and marched along the coast with the intention of laying siege to the important city of Acre. Gerard de Riderfort

* *Radulph de Diceto*, apud X script., p. 642.

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sent a detachment of his forces to Alexandretta, who drove a strong party of Moslem infantry from thence, and posted themselves in that position. Saladin was at this period engaged in the siege of the castle of Shakîf Arnun (Belfort), near Panias, which belonged to Reginald, Lord of Sidon, and as soon as he heard of the movements of the Franks, he raised the siege, and immediately directed his march towards them. He did not at this period, Bohadin tells us, perfectly penetrate their design, but receiving shortly afterwards accurate intelligence of the magnitude of their forces, and hearing that they had encamped at Ain Bassa, and had pushed on an advanced guard to Al Zib, he wrote to all the governors of the Moslem provinces, requiring them to join him without delay. He sent on a strong detachment by way of Tebnin, to watch their movements, and directed his army to concentrate at Sepphoris. From thence he marched to Keruba, and then moved in order of battle to Tel Kaisan, where the plain of Acre begins. The city of Acre had been regularly invested for some days previous to his arrival, and after reconnoitring the position of the christian army, Saladin encamped, extending his left wing to Al Nahr Al Halu, "the sweet river," and his right to Tel Al'Ayadhiya, in such a manner, that the besiegers themselves became the besieged. The tents of the Templars were pitched over against the eastern wall of the city, and they extended from the mouth of the river Belus, across the high road leading from the interior of the country into Acre; next to them were the tents of the king of Jerusalem and the native barons of Palestine, and beyond, towards the northern extremity of the port of Acre, extended the encampment of the European chieftains, and their followers, who were placed so as to cover the coast-road leading

from Tyre to the besieged city. Several slight skirmishes were fought, but Saladin made no serious attempts against the christian camp before the arrival of his expected reinforcements. Being at last joined by Modafferod'dîn ibn Zînod'dîn and Al Mâlek al Modaffer, and many other commanders with their followers, he made a sudden attack upon the weakest part of the christian camp, broke through the lines, penetrated to the gate of Acre, called Karâkûsh, which he entered, and threw into the city a reinforcement of 5,000 warriors, laden with arms, provisions, clothing, and everything necessary for the defence of the place. Having accomplished this bold feat, Saladin made a masterly retreat to his camp at Tel Al'Ayâdhiya.* GERARD DE RIDERFORT. A. D. 1189.

Daily skirmishes continued to be fought without any decisive result. On one occasion, a party of Templars were drawn into an ambuscade by the Arab cavalry, and were overpowered and cut to pieces. Their heads were severed from their bodies and brought to Saladin, who rewarded each of the bearers with a rich vest.† This disaster was speedily followed by another much more terrible. On the 4th of October, the newly-arrived warriors from Europe, eager to signalize their prowess against the infidels, marched out of their intrenchments to attack Saladin's camp. The holy gospels, wrapped in silk, were borne by four knights on a cushion, before the king of Jerusalem, and the patriarch Heraclius and the western bishops appeared at the head of the christian forces with crucifixes in their hands, exhorting them to obtain the crown of martyrdom in defence of the christian faith. The Templars, as usual, marched in the van,

* *Bohadin*, cap. 55—58. *Ibn Alatsyr*, ut sup. p. 499, 500.

† *Bohadin*, cap. 59. *Ibn Alat.* ut sup.

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and led the assault; they broke through the right wing of the Mussulman army, which was commanded by Saladin's nephew, and struck such terror into the hearts of the Moslems, that some of them fled as far as Tiberias without halting to look behind them. The undisciplined masses of the christian army, however, thinking that the day was their own, rushed heedlessly on after the infidels, and penetrating to the imperial tent, abandoned themselves to pillage. The Grand Master of the Temple, foreseeing what would be the result of their imprudence, collected his knights and the forces of the order around him, together with a large body of European chivalry, who had ranged themselves under the banner of the Templars, and formed a reserve. The infidels rallied, they were led on by Saladin in person, and the christian army would have been annihilated but for the Templars. Firm and immoveable, they presented for the space of an hour an unbroken front to the advancing Moslems, and gave time for the discomfited and panic-stricken crusaders to recover from their terror and confusion; but ere they had been rallied, and had returned to the charge, the Grand Master Gerard de Riderfort was slain; he fell, pierced with arrows, at the head of his knights, the seneschal of the order shared the same fate, and more than half the Templars were numbered with the dead.*

* Militia Templi, quâ nulla insignior, jam cuneos hostiles, cædi devota perruperat. . . . . Ibi Magister militiæ Templi Gerardus de Riderfordia, cæsus occumbit: felix cui tantam Dominus gloriam contulit, ut lauream quam tot bellis meruerat, Martyrum collegio sociandus haberet.—*Vinisauf* apud Gale XV. script. vol. 2, cap. 29, p. 270. *Rad. Cogg.* ut sup. col. 574. Hist. Hierosol. apud Gesta Dei, tom. 1, pars 2, p. 1165. *Radulph de Diceto* ut sup. col. 649. I have adopted the version of the christian writers, but both Ibn Ilatsyr and Bohadin allege that the Grand Master was taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded by command of Saladin. *Bohadin*, cap. 60. *Ibn Alat.* ut sup. p. 502.

To Gerard de Riderfort succeeded the Knight Templar, Brother WALTER.* Never did the flame of enthusiasm burn with fiercer or more destructive power than at this famous siege of Acre. Nine pitched battles were fought, with various fortune, in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel, and during the first year of the siege a hundred thousand Christians are computed to have perished. The tents of the dead, however, were replenished by new-comers from Europe; the fleets of Saladin succoured the town, the christian ships brought continual aid to the besiegers, and the contest seemed interminable. Saladin's exertions in the cause of the prophet were incessant. The Arab authors compare him to a mother wandering with desperation in search of her lost child, to a lioness who has lost its young. "I saw him," says his secretary Bohadin, "in the fields of Acre afflicted with a most cruel disease, with boils from the middle of his body to his knees, so that he could not sit down, but only recline on his side when he entered into his tent, yet he went about to the stations nearest to the enemy, arranged his troops for battle, and rode about from dawn till eve, now to the right wing, then to the left, and then to the centre, patiently enduring the severity of his pain." . . . . "O God," says his enthusiastic biographer, "thou knowest that he put forth and lavishly expended all his energies and strength towards the protection and the triumph of thy religion; do thou therefore, O Lord, have mercy upon him."†

WALTER. A. D. 1189.

The unhealthy season had now commenced; the stench from the dead bodies was intolerable, and Saladin retreated from the low pestilential plain of Acre to his salubrious and elevated camp on the

* *Ducange*, Gloss. tom. vi. p. 1036. Cotton MS. Nero E. vi. p. 60, fol. 466.

† *Bohadin*, cap. 5, 6.

WALTER. A. D. 1189.

mountains of Keruba. There he remained during the winter, recruiting his health and strengthening his shattered forces. Whilst encamped in this position, he received intelligence of the mighty preparations which were being made in Europe for the recovery of Jerusalem, and of the march of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa through Hungary and Greece to Constantinople, with a view of crossing the Hellespont, into Asia, to attack the Moslem territories. He accordingly sent orders to the governors of Senjâr, Al Jazîra, Al Mawsel, and Arbel, ordering them to attend him with their troops, and directed his secretary Bohadin to proceed to the caliph Al Nâssr Deldin'illah, at Bagdad, humbly to request the Mussulman pontiff to use his spiritual authority and influence to induce all the Moslem nations and tribes to heal their private differences and animosities, and combine together against the Franks, for the defence of Islam. Bohadin was received with the greatest distinction and respect by the caliph and the whole divan at Bagdad, and whilst the Pope was disseminating his apostolical letters throughout Christendom, calling upon the western nations to combine together for the triumph of the cross, the Mussulman pontiff was addressing, from the distant city of Bagdad, his pious exhortations to all true believers, to assemble under the holy banners of the prophet, and shed their blood in defence of Islam.

The christian warriors before Acre, in the mean time, continued vigorously to prosecute the siege. They drew their forces close round the city, and defended the rear of their position by deep trenches and lofty embankments. To the north of the town were pitched the tents of Genoa, Venice, Pisa, and the other Italian states, under the command of the archbishop of Ravenna and the

bishop of Pisa. They extended from the sea side as far as the road to Damascus. Next to them were the tents of the Hospitallers, who were stationed in the adjoining valley. The king of Jerusalem was encamped on a hill in the centre of the army, and was attended by his queen Sibylla, his brothers Geoffrey and Aymer de Lusignan, Humphrey de Thoron and his wife Isabella, and the patriarch Heraclius with his clergy. The camp of the Knights Templars continued to occupy all the ground which extended between the royal tent and the river Belus, and covered the road leading from Acre to Jerusalem; and the tents of the Germans, Danes, Friths, and the warriors of the north of Europe, under the command of the langrave of Thuringia, were scattered along the sea-shore. WALTER. A. D. 1190.

The Templars, in common with their christian brethren, suffered great hardships during the winter, and many died from famine and disease. Saladin had caused all the dead bodies to be thrown into the river which supplied their camp with fresh water, and they had to undertake the frightful operation of clearing the course of the stream from the foul obstruction. Wolves and jackalls, and birds of prey, attracted by the scent of the mouldering corpses, prowled through the plain, and their melancholy howling and screaming were to be heard, during the stillness of night, in every direction around the camp.

Shortly after the commencement of the new year, (586, Hejir. which began Feb. 9th, A. D. 1190,) Saladin again collected his troops together, to raise the siege of Acre. He moved from Al Kherûba to Tel Al Ajûl, where he pitched his camp. He was there joined by his son Al Malek, Al Daher Gayâtho'ddîn Gâzi, the governor of Aleppo, with a select body of cavalry, and by Mohaf-

WALTER. A. D. 1190.

fero'ddîn I'bn Zinoddin, with his light horse. The Templars and the crusaders, during the winter, had not been idle; they had dug trenches around their camp, thrown up ramparts, and fortified their position in such a way that it would have been difficult, says the Arabian writer, for even a bird to get in. They had, moreover, filled up the ditch around the town, and constructed three enormous towers, the largest of which was much higher than the walls, was sixty cubits in length, and could contain from five to six hundred warriors, with a proper quantity of arms and military engines. These towers were covered with the raw hides of oxen soaked in vinegar and mud, to render them incombustible; they were strengthened from top to bottom with bands of iron, and were each divided into five platforms or galleries filled with soldiers and military engines. They were rolled on wheels to the walls, and the Templars and the crusaders were about to descend from the platforms and galleries upon the battlements of the city, when the towers, and all the warriors upon them, were consumed by some inextinguishable inflammable composition, discharged out of brass pots by a brazier from Damascus. "We were watching," says Bohadin, who was standing in the Moslem camp by Saladin's side, "with intense anxiety the movements of the soldiers upon these towers, and thought that the city must inevitably be taken, when suddenly we saw one of them surrounded with a blaze of light, which shot up into the skies; the heavens were rent with one joyous burst of acclamation from the sons of Islam, and in another instant another tower was surrounded with raging flames and clouds of black smoke, and then the third; they were ignited one after the other in the most astonishing and surprising manner, with scarce an interval of

a minute between them. The sultan immediately mounted his horse, and ordered the trumpets to sound to arms, exclaiming with a loud voice, in the words of the prophet, 'When the gate of good fortune is thrown open delay not to enter in.'" But I must decline a repetition of the various sallies and combats of this long siege. The Templars fought on all occasions with invincible ardour, and were the foremost in every assault. "Many of them," to use the words of the old chroniclers, "received the palm of martyrdom, and went to inhabit the happy mansions of the blest;" and many Mussulmen, who fell beneath their swords, "went to dwell on the banks of the rivers which water the groves and the gardens of paradise."* WALTER. A. D. 1190.

At the commencement of the summer Saladin detached a considerable portion of his forces to the north, to oppose the progress of the German crusaders, who were advancing from Constantinople, under the command of the emperor Frederic Barbarossa. In the army of the latter there was a strong band of valiant Templars, who were on their way to join their brethren in Palestine. These holy warriors were the especial favourites of Barbarossa, and after his melancholy death, from the effects of a cold bath in the river Cydnus, they formed part of the body-guard of his son the duke of Suabia. The person of that prince, during his march to Antioch, was surrounded by forty Knights Templars and twenty-five other knights, who were always to be seen in the post of danger, animating, by their example, the sinking hearts and failing energies of the warriors of the cross. They participated in all the hardships and disasters which attended that unfortunate expedition, after the death of Bar-

* *Bohadin*, cap. 67. *Ibn Alat.* ut sup. p. 505, 506, 507.

WALTER. A. D. 1190.

barossa, and a miserable remnant of them at last joined their brethren under the walls of Acre.

In the month of July the Templars suffered severe loss in another attack upon Saladin's camp. The licentious christian soldiery, deceived by the flight of the Mussulmen, were again lured to the pillage of their tents, and were again defeated by the main body of Saladin's army, which had been posted in reserve. The Templars were surrounded by an overpowering force, but they fought their way through the dense ranks of the infidels to their own camp, leaving the plain of Acre strewed with the lifeless bodies of the best and bravest of their warriors.

"The enemies of God," says Bohadin, "had the audacity to enter within the camp of the lions of Islamism, but they speedily experienced the terrible effects of the divine indignation. They fell beneath the sabres of the Mussulmen as the leaves fall from the trees during the tempests of autumn. Their mangled corpses, scattered over the mountain side, covered the earth even as the branches and boughs cover the hills and valleys when the woodsman lops the forest timber." "They fell," says another Arabian historian, "beneath the swords of the sons of Islam as the wicked will fall, at the last day, into the everlasting fire of hell. Nine rows of the dead covered the earth between the sea-shore and the mountains, and in each row might be counted the lifeless bodies of at least one thousand warriors."

The Moslem garrison continued manfully to defend the town; they kept up a constant communication with Saladin, partly by pigeons, partly by swimmers, and partly by men in small skiffs, who traversed the port in secresy, by favour of the night, and stole into the

city. At one period the besieged had consumed nearly all their provisions, and were on the point of dying with famine, when Saladin hit upon the following stratagem, for the purpose of sending them a supply. He collected together a number of vessels at Beirout laden with sacks of meal, cheese, onions, sheep, rice, and other provisions. He disguised the seamen in the Frank habit, put crosses on their pendants, and covered the decks of the vessels with hogs. In this way the little fleet sailed safely through the blockading squadron of the Christians, and entered the port of Acre. On another occasion Saladin sent 1000 *dinars* to the garrison, by means of a famous diver named Isa; the man was unfortunately drowned during his passage to the city, but the money, being deposited in three bladders, tied to his body, was a few days afterwards thrown ashore near the town, and reached the besieged in safety. At the commencement of the winter the garrison was again reduced to great straits for want of food, and was on the point of surrendering, when three vessels from Egypt broke through the guard-ships of the Christians, and got safely into the harbour with a copious supply of provisions, munitions of war, and everything requisite to enable the city to hold out until the ensuing spring.* WALTER. A. D. 1199.

To prevent the further introduction of succours by sea, the crusaders endeavoured to take possession of the tower of Flies, a strong castle, built upon a rock in the midst of the sea at the mouth of the harbour, which commanded the port. The Templars employed one of their gallies upon this service, and crowds of small boats filled with armed men, military engines, and scaling-ladders, were

* *Bohadin*, cap. 75—78. *Abulfed*, chron. I'bn Schunak, chron. ad. ann. Hejir. 586. *D'Herbelot*. Bib. Orient. p. 743.

WALTER. A. D. 1190.

brought against the little fortress, but without effect. The boats and vessels were set on fire by the besieged and reduced to ashes, and after losing all their men, the Christians gave over the attempt. On the land side, the combats and skirmishes continued to be incessant. Wooden towers, and vast military machines, and engines, were constantly erected by the besiegers, and as constantly destroyed by the sallies and skilful contrivances of the besieged. The Templars, on one occasion, constructed two battering machines of a new invention, and most enormous size, and began therewith furiously to batter the walls of the town, but the garrison soon destroyed them with fire-darts, and beams of timber, pointed with red-hot iron.* As the winter approached, a grievous famine began to prevail in the christian camp, and the most loathsome objects were eagerly devoured by the starving soldiery. The overflowing of the rivers, too, during the prevalence of the winter rains, converted all the low parts of the plain of Acre into a swamp, from whence pestiferous exhalations arose, and produced an epidemic fever. The tents were filled with death and mourning, and the poor Christians addressed bitter prayers to Heaven, for a speedy deliverance from their calamities and misfortunes. Saladin retired from the noxious atmosphere of the low plain, to the salubrious heights of Mount Schaferan, about three miles from Acre, and having now no fears for the safety of the city, he dismissed the greater part of his forces until the spring.

At the commencement of the next year, (587 Hejir. which began Jan. 29th, A. D. 1191,) a tremendous tempest scattered the fleet of

* *Bohadin*, cap. 78—84. *Ibn Alât.* ut sup, p. 510—514. *Vinisauf*, apud Gale XV. script. cap. 58—60.

the crusaders, and compelled their ships to take refuge in Tyre. The sea being open, Saladin hastily collected some vessels at Caiphas, threw a fresh body of troops into Acre, and withdrew the exhausted garrison, which had already sustained so many hardships and fatigues in defence of the town. This exchange of the garrison was most happily timed, for almost immediately after it had been effected, the walls of the city were breached, and preparations were made for an assault. The newly-arrived troops, however, repulsed the assailants, repaired the walls, and once more placed the city in a good posture of defence. The scarcity and famine in the christian camp continued to increase, and a vast many of the crusaders, utterly unable to withstand the hardships and difficulties of their position, deserted to Saladin, embraced the Mohammedan faith, and were employed by him, at their own request, in cruising off the coast against their quondam friends. Bohadin tells us that they met with vast success in their employment. On board one of their prizes was found a silver table, and a great deal of money and plate, which the captors brought to the sultan, the 13th Dhu'lhajja, but Saladin returned the treasure to them, saying, that it was a sufficient satisfaction to him and the Moslems, to see that the Franks pillaged and plundered one another with such alacrity. WALTER. A. D. 1191.

Famine and disease continued to make frightful ravages amongst the crusaders. The duke of Suabia, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, the patriarch Heraclius,* four archbishops, twelve bishops, forty counts, and five hundred other nobles and knights, besides common soldiers, fell victims to the malady. From two to three

* L'art de verifier les dates, tom. iv. p. 59. ed. 1818.

WALTER. A. D. 1191.

hundred persons died daily, and the survivors became unequal to the task of burying the dead. The trenches which the Christians had dug for their protection, now became their graves. Putrefying corpses were to be seen floating upon the sea, and lining the sea-shore, and the air was infected with an appalling and intolerable effluvia. The bodies of the living became bloated and swollen, and the most trifling wounds were incurable. In addition to all this, numbers of the poorer class of people died daily from starvation. The rich supported themselves for a time upon horse-flesh, and Abbot Coggleshale tells us, that a dinner off the entrails of a horse cost 10*d.*!* Bones were ground to powder, mixed with water, and eagerly devoured, and all the shoes, bridles, and saddles, and old leather in the camp, were boiled to shreds, and greedily eaten.

Queen Sibylla, who appears to have been sincerely attached to the unpopular husband she had raised to the throne, was present in the christian camp with four infant daughters. She had wandered with the king from one place to another, ever since his liberation from captivity, and had been his constant companion through all the horrors, trials, and anxieties of the long siege of Acre. Her delicate frame, weakened by sorrow and misfortune, was unable to contend with the many hardships and privations of the christian camp. She fell a victim to the frightful epidemic which raged amongst the soldiers, and her death was speedily followed by that of her four children.† The enemies of the king now maintained

* *Rad. Cogg.* ut sup. col. 557. *Vinisauf*, ut sup. cap. 64—74.

† En cel point morut en l'ost la roine, la fame le roi Guion, et quatre infans que ele avoit,

that the crown of the Latin kingdom had descended upon Isabella, the younger sister of Sibylla, and wife of Humphrey de Thoron, Lord of Montreal, or Mount Royal; but the latter seemed to think otherwise, and took no steps either to have his wife made queen, or himself king. The enterprising and ambitious Conrad, Marquis of Monferrat, accordingly determined to play a bold game for the advancement of his own fortunes. He paid his addresses to Isabella, and induced her to consent to be divorced from Humphrey de Thoron, and take him for her husband. He went to the bishop of Beauvais, and persuaded that prelate to pronounce the divorce, and immediately after it had been done, he carried off Isabella to Acre, and there married her. As soon as the nuptials had been performed, Conrad caused himself and his wife to be proclaimed king and queen of Jerusalem, and forthwith entered upon the exercise of certain royal functions. He went to the christian camp before Acre, and his presence caused serious divisions and dissensions amongst the crusaders. The king, Guy de Lusignan, obstinately stood upon his rights; he maintained that, as he had been once a king, he was always a king, and that the death of his wife could not deprive him of the crown which he had solemnly received, according to the established usage of the Latin kingdom. A strong party in the camp declared themselves in his favour, and an equally strong party declared in favour of his rival, Conrad, who prepared to maintain his rights, sword in hand. The misfortunes of the Christians appeared, consequently, to have approached their climax. The

WALTER. A. D. 1197.

et eschai la terre a Isabel fame Honfroi, qui s'enfui quant les barons de la terre la durent coroner. Contin. hist. ut sup. col. 631. *Vinisauf*, ut sup. cap. 46.

WALTER. A.D. 1191.

sword, the famine, and the pestilence, had successively invaded their camp, and now the demon of discord came to set them one against the other, and to paralyse all their exertions in the christian cause.

## CHAPTER VII.

Richard Cœur de Lion joins the Templars before Acre—The city surrenders, and the Templars establish the chief house of their order within it—Cœur de Lion takes up his abode with them—He sells to them the island of Cyprus—The Templars form the van of his army—Their foraging expeditions and great exploits—Cœur de Lion quits the Holy Land in the disguise of a Knight Templar—The Templars build the Pilgrim's Castle in Palestine—The state of the order in England—King John resides in the Temple at London—The barons come to him at that place, and demand MAGNA CHARTA—The exploits of the Templars in Egypt—The letters of the Grand Master to the Master of the Temple at London—The Templars reconquer Jerusalem.

" Therefore, friends,
As far as to the sepulchre of Christ
(Whose soldier now under whose blessed cross
We are impressed and engag'd to fight,)
Forthwith a power of English shall we levy
Whose arms were moulded in their mother's womb,
To chase these pagans, in those holy fields,
Over whose acres walked those blessed feet,
Which, fourteen hundred years ago, were nail'd,
For our advantage, on the bitter cross."

IN the mean time the crusade continued to be preached with great success in Europe. William, archbishop of Tyre, had proceeded to the courts of France and England, and had represented in glowing

WALTER. A. D. 1191.

WALTER. A. D. 1191. colours the miserable condition of Palestine, and the horrors and abominations which had been committed by the infidels in the holy city of Jerusalem. The English and French monarchs laid aside their private animosities, and agreed to fight under the same banner against the infidels, and towards the close of the month of May, in the second year of the siege of Acre, the royal fleets of Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur de Lion floated in triumph in the bay of Acre. At the period of the arrival of king Richard, the Templars had again lost their Grand Master, and Brother Robert de Sablé, or Sabloil, a valiant knight of the order, who had commanded a division of the English fleet on the voyage out, was placed at the head of the fraternity.* The proudest of the nobility, and the most valiant of the chivalry of Europe, on their arrival in Palestine, manifested an eager desire to fight under the banner of the Temple. Many secular knights were permitted by the Grand Master to take their station by the side of the military friars, and even to wear the red cross on their breasts whilst fighting in the ranks.

ROBERT DE SABLE. A. D. 1191.

The Templars performed prodigies of valour; "The name of their reputation, and the fame of their sanctity," says James of Vitry, bishop of Acre, "like a chamber of perfume sending forth a sweet odour, was diffused throughout the entire world, and all the congregation of the saints will recount their battles and glorious triumphs over the enemies of Christ, knights, indeed, from all parts of the earth, dukes, and princes, after their example, casting off the shackles of the world, and renouncing the pomps and vanities of this life, and all the lusts of the flesh for Christ's sake, hastened to

* Hist. de la maison de Sablé, liv. vi. chap. 5, p. 174, 175. Cotton MS. Nero, E. vi. p. 60. folio 466, where he is called Robert de Sambell. L'art de Verif. tom. v. p. 347.

join them, and to participate in their holy profession and religion."* ROBERT DE SABLE. A. D. 1191.

Saladin had passed the winter on the heights of Schaferan and Keruba. His vast army had been thinned and weakened by incessant watching, by disease, and continual battles, and he himself was gradually sinking under the effects of a dreadful disease, which baffled all the skill of his medical attendants, and was gradually drawing him towards the grave. But the proud soul of the great chieftain never quailed; nor were his fire and energy at any time deadened. As soon as he heard of the arrival of the two powerful christian monarchs, he sent envoys and messengers throughout all Mussulman countries, earnestly demanding succour, and on the Mussulman sabbath, after prayers had been offered up to God for the triumph of his arms, and the deliverance of Islam, he caused to be read, in all the mosques and houses of assembly, letters to the following effect:—

"In the name of GOD, the most MERCIFUL and COMPASSIONATE.

"To all devout Believers in the one only God, and his prophet Mahomet, our Master.

"The armies of the infidels, numerous as the stars of heaven, have come forth from the remote countries situate beyond Constantinople, to wrest from us those conquests which have gladdened the hearts of all who put their trust in the Koran, and to dispute with us the possession of that holy territory whereon the Caliph Omar, in bygone days, planted the sacred standard of the Prophet. O men, prepare ye to sacrifice your lives and fortunes in defence of *Islam*. Your marches

* *Jac. de Vitr.* cap. 65.

ROBERT DE SABLE. A. D. 1191.

against the infidels, the dangers you encounter, the wounds you receive, and every minute action, down to the fording of a river, are they not written in the book of God? Thirst, hunger, fatigue, and death, will they not obtain for you the everlasting treasures of heaven, and open to your gaze the delicious groves and gardens of Paradise? In whatsoever place you remain, O men, death hath dominion over you, and neither your houses, your lands, your wives, your children, nor the strongest towers, can defend you from his darts. Some of you, doubtless, have said one to another, Let us not go up to fight during the heats of summer; and others have exclaimed, Let us remain at home until the snow hath melted away from the mountain tops; but is not the fire of hell more terrible than the heats of summer, and are not its torments more insupportable than the winter's cold? Fear GOD, and not the *infidels;* hearken to the voice of your chief, for it is Saladin himself who calls you to rally around the standard of *Islam*. If you obey not, your families will be driven out of Syria, and God will put in their places a people better than you. JERUSALEM, the holy, the sister of Medina and Mecca, will again fall into the power of the idolaters, who assign to God a son, and raise up an equal to the Most High. Arm yourselves then, with the buckler and the lance, scatter these children of fire, the wicked sons of hell, whom the sea hath vomited forth upon our shores, repeating to yourselves these words of the Koran, 'He who abandoneth his home and family to defend our holy religion, shall be rewarded with happiness, and with many friends.'"*

On the arrival of the kings of France and England in the christian camp, the disputes concerning the title to the throne of the

* *Michaud*, hist. des Croisades, tom. ii. p. 383, 384.

imaginary kingdom of Jerusalem were referred to their decision, but they, unfortunately, took opposite views, and added fuel to the fire. King Richard declared himself in favour of the existing king Guy de Lusignan, and Philip Augustus and the French supported the claims of Conrad. The siege, however, was now pressed with great vigour; the combined fleets of France and England completely deprived the city of all supplies by sea, and the garrison was reduced to great straits. The combats and the sallies were incessant. Twice did the combined armies undertake a general assault, and twice were they obliged to return to their camp, to defend it from the furious attacks of Saladin. The sultan now despaired of being able to save the city, and was sick, Bohadin tells us, both in mind and body. He could neither eat nor drink. At night he would lie down upon the side of the hill Aladajia, and indulge in some broken slumbers, but at morning's dawn he was on horseback, ordering his brazen drum to be sounded, and collecting his army together in battle array. At last letters were received, by means of pigeons, announcing that the garrison could hold out no longer. Saladin gazed," says Bohadin, "long and earnestly at the city, his eyes were suffused with tears, and he sorrowfully exclaimed, '*Alas for Islam!*'"*

ROBERT DE SABLE. A. D. 1191.

On the morning of the 12th of July, the kings of France and England, the christian chieftains, and the Turkish emirs with their green banners, assembled in the tent of the Grand Master of the Temple, to treat of the surrender of Acre; and on the following day the gates were thrown open to the exulting warriors of the cross. The Templars took possession of their ancient quarters by

* *Bohadin*, cap. 95—110. Hist. Hierosol. apud gesta Dei, p. 1160—1172. *Vinisauf*, lib. 3. cap. 1—20.

ROBERT DE SABLE A. D. 1191.

the side of the sea, and mounted a large red-cross banner upon the tower of the Temple.* They possessed themselves of three extensive localities along the sea shore, and the Temple at Acre from thenceforth became the chief house of the order. Richard Cœur de Lion took up his abode with the Templars whilst Philip Augustus resided in the citadel.†

On the 27th of July, a grand council, composed of the two kings, the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital, and all the bishops and barons, assembled at Acre, to determine on the rights of the respective claimants to the throne of the Latin kingdom. They decided that Guy de Lusignan should remain king during his life, but that Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, and his descendants, should succeed to the throne after his decease; that, in the mean time, the revenues of the kingdom should be divided between them, and that Conrad, as a reward for his military achievements, should hold the cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Beirout, rendering the customary services to the king of Jerusalem.

At the period of the surrender of Acre, the following hard terms had been imposed upon the inhabitants and the garrison. They were to pay a ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold for their lives and liberties; two thousand noble and five hundred inferior christian captives were to be set at liberty, and the true cross, which had been taken at the battle of Tiberias, was to be restored to the Latin clergy. Two months were accorded for the performance of these conditions. I'bn Alatsyr, who was then in Saladin's camp,

* *Bohadin*, cap. 112.

† Le roi de France ot le chastel d'Acre, et le fist garnir, et le roi d'Angleterre se herberja en la maison du Temple. Contin. hist. apud *Martene*, tom. v. col. 634.

tells us that Saladin had collected together 100,000 pieces of gold, that he was ready to deliver up the two thousand five hundred christian captives, and restore the true cross, but his Mamlook emirs advised him not to trust implicitly to the good faith of the christian adventurers of Europe for the performance of their part of the treaty, but to obtain from the Templars, of whose *regard for their word, and reverence for the sanctity of an oath*, the Moslems had, he tells us, a high opinion, a solemn undertaking for the performance, by the Christians, of the stipulations they had entered into. Saladin accordingly sent to the Grand Master of the Temple, to know if the Templars would guarantee the surrender to him of all the Moslem prisoners, if the money, the christian captives, and the true cross, were sent to them; but the Grand Master declined giving any guarantee of the kind.* ROBERT DE SABLE. A. D. 1191.

The doubts about the agreement, and the delay in the execution of it, kindled the fierce indignation of the English monarch, and Richard Cœur de Lion led out all his prisoners, 2000 in number, into the plain of Acre, and caused them all to be beheaded in sight of the sultan's camp.†

When the fiery monarch of England tore down the banner of the duke of Austria from its staff, and threw it into the ditch, it was the Templars who, interposing between the indignant Germans and the haughty Britons, preserved the peace of the christian army.‡

During his voyage from Messina to Acre, king Richard had

* *Ibn Alat.* ut sup. p. 520.

† *Bohadin*, cap. 115. *Vinisauf*, ut sup. lib. iv. cap. 4. *Contin. hist.* ut sup. col. 635. *Hoveden*, p. 697, 698.

‡ Chron. *Ottonis* a *S. Blazio* apud scriptores Italicos, tom. vi. col. 92.

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revenged himself on Isaac Comnenus, the ruler of the island of Cyprus, for the insult offered to the beautiful Berengaria, princess of Navarre, his betrothed bride. He had disembarked his troops, stormed the town of Limisso, and conquered the whole island; and shortly after his arrival at Acre he sold it to the Templars for 300,000 livres d'or.*

Shortly after the surrender of Acre, the king of France became disgusted with the holy war, and returned to Europe, leaving behind him a considerable force of knights and foot soldiers, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, to continue the contest.

On the 21st of August, the Templars joined the standard of king Richard, and left Acre for the purpose of marching upon Jerusalem, by way of the sea-coast. They crossed the river Belus, and pitched their tents on its banks, where they remained for three days, to collect all the troops together. The most copious and authentic account of their famous march by the side of the king of England, through the hostile territories of the infidels, is contained in the history of king Richard's campaign, by Geoffrey de Vinisauf, who accompanied the crusaders on their expedition, and was an actor in the stirring events he describes.†

On Sunday, the 25th of August, the Templars, under the conduct of their Grand Master, and the crusaders under the command of king Richard, commenced their march towards Cæsarea. The army was separated into three divisions, the first of which was led by the

* Contin. hist. ut sup. col. 633. *Trivet* ad ann. 1191. Chron. de S. Denis, lib. ii. cap. 7 *Vinisauf*, p. 328.

† Itinerarium regis Anglorum Ricardi et aliorum in terram Hierosolymorum auctore *Gaufrido de Vinisauf*. Gale's scriptores Historiæ Anglicanæ, tom. ii. p. 247—429.

Templars, and the last by the Hospitallers. The baggage moved on the right of the army, between the line of march and the sea, and the fleet, loaded with provisions, kept pace with the movements of the forces, and furnished them daily with the necessary supplies. Saladin, at the head of an immense force, exerted all his energies to oppose their progress, and the march to Jaffa formed one perpetual battle. Vast masses of cavalry hovered upon their flanks, cut off all stragglers, and put every prisoner that they took to death.* The first night after leaving the Belus, the Templars and the crusaders encamped along the banks of the brook Kishon, around some wells in the plain between Acre and Caiphas. The next day they forded the brook, fought their way to Caiphas, and there halted for one day, in order that the reluctant soldiers, who were lingering behind at Acre, might come on and join them. On Wednesday, September 28, at dawn of day, they prepared to force the passes and defiles of Mount Carmel. All the heights were covered with dense masses of Mussulmen, who anxiously watched every movement of the crusaders, and were prepared to dispute the ground inch by inch. The Templars placed themselves in the van of the christian army, and headed the leading column, whilst the cavalry of the Hospitallers protected the rear.† They ascended the heights through a dense vegetation of dry thistles, wild vines, and prickly shrubs, drove the infidels before them, crossed the summit of Mount Carmel, and descending into the opposite plain, encamped for the night at the pass by the sea-shore, called "the narrow way," about eight miles from Caiphas.

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* *Bohadin*, p. 187, 188.

† Primariam aciem deducebant Templarii, et ultimam Hospitalarii, quorum utrique strenue agentes magnarum virtutum prætendebant imaginem. *Vitisauf*, lib. iv. cap. 12.

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Here they recovered possession of a solitary tower, perched upon a rock overhanging the pass, which had been formerly built by the Templars, but had for some time past been in the hands of the Saracens. After lingering at this place an entire day, waiting the arrival of the fleet and the barges, laden with provisions, they recommenced their march (Friday, the 13th of August,) to Tortura, the ancient Dora, about seven miles distant, having to fight every inch of the way. The Grand Master of the Temple, and his valiant knights, were, as usual, in the van, forcing a passage through the dense masses of the Moslems. The country in every direction around their line of march, was laid waste, and every day the attacks became more daring. The military friars had hitherto borne the brunt of the affray, but on the march to Tortura, they suffered such heavy loss, that king Richard determined the next day to take the command of the van in person, and he directed them to bring up the rear.*

On the fifth day from their leaving the river Belus, the Templars and the crusaders approached the far-famed Cæsarea, where St. Paul so long resided, and where he uttered his eloquent oration before king Agrippa and Felix. But the town was no longer visible; the walls, the towers, the houses, and all the public buildings, had been destroyed by command of Saladin, and the place was left deserted and desolate. The Templars pitched their tents on the banks of the Crocodile river,† the *flumen crocodilon* of Pliny, having been

* Ibi rex præordinaverat quod die sequenti primam aciem ipse deduceret, et quod Templarii extremæ agminis agerent custodiam.—*Vinisauf*, cap. xiv. p. 351.

† Fixis ibidem tentoriis pernoctabant juxta fluvium civitati proximum, qui vocatur fluvius Crocodilorum. Ib. p. 352.

five days in performing the journey from the river Belus, a distance of only thirty-six miles. But the weather was insufferably hot, every inch of the ground had been fiercely contested, and many of the soldiers, exhausted by the incessant attacks of the infidels, expired by the way-side, and were buried in the sands by their companions. The army halted at Cæsarea during the whole of Sunday, the 1st of September, and high mass was celebrated by the clergy with great pomp and solemnity, amid the ruins of the city. During the afternoon, several ships arrived from Acre, laden with pilgrims, and a large supply of provisions was landed for the use of the army.

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On Monday, the second of September, the tents of the Templars were struck at morning's dawn, and they commenced their march with the leading division of the army, for the city of Jaffa, which is about thirty miles distant from Cæsarea. They forded the Crocodile river, and proceeded on their journey through a long and narrow valley, torn by torrents and ravines, and filled with vast masses of rock, which had been washed down from the heights by the winter rains. They had the sea on their right, and on their left, a chain of craggy eminences. Every advantage was taken by the enemy of the irregularity of the ground ; the Mussulman archers lined the heights, and vast masses of cavalry were brought into action, wherever the nature of the country admitted of their employment. The christian warriors were encumbered with their heavy armour and military accoutrements, which were totally unfit for the burning climate, yet they enthusiastically toiled on, perseveringly overcoming all obstacles.

ROBERT DE SABLE. A. D. 1191.

The ever-vigilant Saladin harassed their march with the most persevering assiduity. His infantry took up positions along all the strong ground, and the light Arab cavalry made perpetual attacks upon the advancing columns as they debouched from the defiles, and moved across the plain. Though suffering from pain and sickness, he was on horseback from morn till night; the faithful Bohadin was ever by his side, and, frequently overcome by fatigue, the sultan would repose on the ground, whilst his secretary supported a linen covering over him, to protect him from the scorching sunbeams. On one occasion, a christian knight, of noble air and demeanour, was taken prisoner. Saladin ordered him to be brought into his presence, and interrogated him as to the numbers of the christian army, and the state of their provisions. "Since the day of our leaving Acre," said the knight, "they have increased one third in price." "Why do you move so slow?"—"We are delayed by our fleet, which carries the supplies." "How many men have you lost to day?"—"A great many." "And how many horses?"—"Four hundred." At the close of the dialogue, the sultan ordered the knight to be beheaded, but the latter exclaimed, "Alas, sir, I saved the life of one of your countrymen at Acre." Bohadin and the bystanders interceded for him, "For I never," says Bohadin, "saw so handsome and elegant a man, with eyes breathing such softness and delicacy." The sultan was moved by the youth and beauty of the captive, and by the entreaties of the bystanders, and he ordered the knight to be placed in confinement, but *in fetters. The sultan said his evening prayers, mounted his horse, rode to the stations around the camp, and when he came back, he ordered the*

*captive knight to be beheaded (!)* with two other prisoners that had just been taken.* ROBERT DE SABLE. A. D. 1191.

Bohadin speaks with admiration of the valiant and martial bearing of the warriors of the cross, and of their fortitude and patient endurance during the long and trying march from Acre to Jaffa. "On the sixth day," says he, "the sultan rose at dawn as usual, and heard from his brother that the enemy were in motion. They had slept that night in suitable places about Cæsarea, and were now dressing and taking their food. A second messenger announced that they had begun their march; our brazen drum was sounded, all were alert, the sultan came out, and I accompanied him: he surrounded them with chosen troops, and gave the signal for attack. The archers were drawn out, and a heavy shower of arrows descended, still the enemy advanced. . . . Their foot soldiers were covered with thick-strung pieces of cloth, fastened together with rings, so as to resemble coats of mail. I saw with my own eyes several who had not one nor two, but *ten darts sticking in their backs!* and yet marched on with a calm and cheerful step, without any trepidation. They had a division of infantry in reserve, to protect those who were weary, and look after the baggage. When any portion of their men became exhausted and gave way through fatigue or wounds, this division advanced and supported them. Their cavalry in the mean time kept together in close column, and never moved away from the infantry, except when they rushed to the charge. In vain did our troops attempt to lure them away from the foot-soldiers; they kept steadily together in close order,

* *Bohadin* apud *Schultens*, p. 188.

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protecting one another and slowly forcing their way with wonderful perseverance."*

Every exertion was made to sustain the courage and enthusiasm of the christian warriors. When the army halted for the night, and the soldiers were about to take their rest, a loud voice would be heard from the midst of the camp exclaiming, "ASSIST THE HOLY SEPULCHRE," which words were repeated by the leaders of the host, and were echoed and re-echoed along their extended lines.†

After a short march of only eight miles from Cæsarea, the Templars pitched their tents on the banks of the Nahr al Kasab, a small river, called by Geoffrey de Vinisauf "*the dead river.*" Here they remained two nights, waiting for the fleet.. On the 4th of September they resumed their march through a desert country which had been laid waste in every direction by command of Saladin. Finding their progress along the shore impeded by the tangled thickets, they quitted the plain and traversed the hills which run parallel with the sea. Their march was harassed by incessant charges of cavalry, and they were oppressed and almost overwhelmed by clouds of darts and arrows. The Templars brought up the rear of the army, and lost so many horses during the day, that they were almost driven to despair.‡ The number of the wounded was very great, and Richard Cœur de Lion himself

* *Bohadin*, cap. 116.

† Singulis noctibus antequam dormituri cubarent, quidam ad hoc deputatus voce magnâ clamaret fortiter in medio exercitu dicens, ADJUVA SEPULCHRUM SANCTUM; ad hanc vocem clamabant universi, eadem verba repetentes, et manus suas cum lacrymis uberrimis tendentes in cœlum, Dei misericordiam postulantes et adjutorium.—*Vinisauf*, lib. 4, cap. 12, p. 351.

‡ Deducendæ extremæ legioni præfuerant Templarii, qui tot equos eâ die Turcis irruentibus, a tergo amiserunt, quod fere desperati sunt.—*Vinisauf*, cap. 14, p. 352.

was pierced in the side by a javelin. Vinisauf speaks with astonishment of the missiles that were showered upon the advancing Christians, and declares that there was not four feet of ground on the line of march in the rear of the invading army that was not studded with a dart or an arrow. After forcing their way for an hour along a chain of bare craggy eminences, they again descended to the beach, and at nightfall they encamped on the banks of a salt creek, close bythe village of Om Khaled, near the ruins of the ancient Apollonias, having performed a march of five miles. Vinisauf tells us that from the dawn of day until it became dark, the attacks of the infidels had been incessant, and that the loss of horses was very severe. The next morning being Thursday, the 5th of September, the Templars set out at sunrise from the salt creek in battle array, having received intelligence that Saladin had prepared an ambuscade in the neighbouring forest of Arsoof, and intended to hazard a general engagement. This forest extends along the sea-coast about four miles from the ruins of Apollonias. It is the forest of oaks mentioned by Strabo, and is also supposed to be the celebrated grove of Tasso. The line of march lay through a desert tract of sand, mixed with wild grass and a few bushes. Scouts were sent on into the forest, who reported that the road was clear; and the whole army, ascending a slight rising ground, passed the wood in extended order in perfect safety, meeting on that day with less obstruction and opposition than on any previous occasion. After having penetrated through the wood, they descended into the plain of Arsur or Arsoof. Through the midst of this plain rolls a mountain torrent, which takes its rise in the mountains of Ephraim, and on the opposite side of the stream Saladin had drawn up his army

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in battle array, determined to hazard a pitched battle with the invaders. The Templars encamped for the night on the right bank of the stream, having during the day marched nine miles. The army halted at this place the whole of the next day, and scouts were sent across the river to examine into the position of the enemy, who reported that the whole plain was covered with a dense mass of infidels, whose numbers they computed at 300,000, an impossible amount.

The next day being Saturday, the 7th of November, king Richard, having completed all his arrangements for a general engagement, drew up his army at dawn in battle array. The Templars again formed the first division,* and were the first to cross the mountain torrent, and drive in Saladin's advanced guard. They were followed by Guy, king of Jerusalem, who was at the head of the division of Poitou, and then by the main body of the army under the personal conduct of king Richard. Geoffrey de Vinisauf gives a lively and enthusiastic description of the appearance of the Moslem array in the great plain around Arsoof. On all sides, far as the eye could reach, from the sea-shore to the mountains, nought was to be seen but a forest of spears, above which waved banners and standards innumerable. The wild Bedouins,† the children of the desert, mounted on their fleet Arab mares, coursed with the rapidity of the lightning over the vast plain, and darkened the air with clouds of missiles. Furious and unrelenting, of a horrible aspect, with skins blacker than soot, they

* Eo die exercitus ordini primo regendo præfuerunt Templarii.—*Vinisauf*, lib. iv. cap. 17.

† *Bedewini* horridi fuligine obscuriores, pedites improbissimi, arcus gestantes cum pharetris, et ancilia rotunda, gens quidem acerrima et expedita.—Ib. cap. 18.

strove by rapid movement and continuous assaults to penetrate the well-ordered array of the christian warriors. They advanced to the attack with horrible screams and bellowings, which, with the deafening noise of the trumpets, horns, cymbals, and brazen kettle-drums, produced a clamour that resounded through the plain, and would have drowned even the thunder of heaven. King Richard received the attack in close and compact array, strict orders having previously been given that all the soldiers should remain on the defensive until two trumpets had been sounded in the front, two in the centre, and two in the rear of the army, when they were in their turn to become the assailants. The ferocious Turks, the wild Bedouins, and the swarthy Æthiopians, gathered around the advanced guard of the Templars, and kept up a distant and harassing warfare with their bows and arrows, whilst the swift cavalry of the Arabs dashed down upon the foot soldiers as if about to overwhelm them, then suddenly checking their horses, they wheeled off to the side, raising clouds of smothering, suffocating dust, which oppressed and choked the toiling warriors. The baggage moved on between the army and the sea, and the Christians thus continued slowly to advance under the scorching rays of an autumnal sun. "They moved," says Vinisauf, "inch by inch; it could not be called walking, for they were pushing and hacking their way through an overpowering crowd of resisting foes." Emboldened by their passive endurance, the Moslems approached nearer, and began to ply their darts and lances. The Templars and the Hospitallers became impatient, and sent to urge the king to give the appointed signal for the attack; but he repressed their ardour, and strictly enjoined them to remain quiet.

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Around the black mantle of the Hospitallers, and the white habit of the Templars, the battle always raged with the greatest fury, for against these holy warriors, the support and mainstay of the armies of the cross, were the efforts of the infidels ever principally directed. The Moslems feared and hated them; they sought eagerly for the reward offered by the sultan for their heads, and raised exulting shouts when a knight of either order bit the dust. The left wing of the Hospitallers suffered so severely from the constant and harassing attacks of the Arab cavalry, that the Grand Master of the Hospitallers galloped up to Cœur de Lion, exclaiming, "My lord king, we can stand this no longer." "Be patient, good Master," said Richard, "and wait awhile;" but ere the Master had returned to his post, the Marshall of the Hospital had charged the infidels; many other knights followed his example, without waiting for the signal, and in an instant the action became general. Then the clash of swords, the ringing of armour, and the clattering of iron clubs and flails, as they descended upon the helmets and bucklers of the European warriors, became mingled with the groans of the dying, and with the fierce cries of the wild Bedouins and the swarthy Æthiopians. Clouds of dust were driven up into the skies, and the plain became speedily covered with banners, lances, and all kinds of arms, and with emblems of every colour and device, torn and broken, and soiled with blood and dust. Cœur de Lion was to be seen everywhere in the thickest of the fight, and the victory of the Christians was mainly owing to his personal prowess.

After a long and obstinate engagement the infidels were defeated; but amid the disorder of his troops Saladin remained on the plain

without lowering his standard or suspending the sound of his brazen kettle drums; he rallied his forces, retired upon Ramleh, and prepared to defend the road leading to Jerusalem. When the battle was over, the Templars pushed on to Arsoof, and pitched their tents before the gates of the town. The garrison made a desperate sally upon their camp, and Cœur de Lion hearing the tumult, galloped up at the head of only fifteen knights, and exclaiming with a loud voice, "God and the Holy Sepulchre assist us," he dashed into the midst of the enemy, and drove them with immense carnage into the town. According to Vinisauf, the infidels lost in the bloody battle of Arsoof thirty-two officers of high rank, and seven thousand soldiers of inferior degree, whilst the Christians, he tells us, did not lose a tenth part of the number.* Bohadin, however, gives a very different version of the affair, and even claims the victory for the sultan.† On the Saturday evening, when the christian soldiers were mustered after the battle, the renowned knight, James d'Avennes, the friend and companion of king Richard, was amongst the missing warriors; and the next morning at sunrise the Templars and Hospitallers went out to search the field of battle in quest of him. They found his dead body, disfigured with blood and dirt, amid a heap of the slain, and placing it upon their lances, they brought it into the camp at Arsoof amid the tears and lamentations of their brethren.‡ It was Sunday, the 8th of September, the day of the nativity of the blessed Virgin Mary, and the army halted at Arsoof the whole of that day for the purpose of burying the dead. A solemn mass was said by the

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* *Vinisauf*, ut sup. lib. iv. cap. 119, p. 360. † *Bohadin*, cap. 116—120.
‡ *Vinisauf*, p. 360.

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priests, and Richard Cœur de Lion, and Guy, king of Jerusalem, accompanied by the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital, and the other chieftains of the army, attended the funeral of the brave James d'Avennes, which was celebrated with great solemnity amid the tears of the warriors of the cross.

On Monday, September 9th, the christian forces moved on in battle array towards Jaffa, the ancient Joppa, about eight miles from Arsoof. The Templars brought up the rear of the army* and protected the baggage from the attacks of the irregular cavalry which still hovered upon their footsteps. After marching about five miles, they reached the banks of the Nahr el Arsoof, or river of Arsoof, which empties itself into the sea, about three miles from Jaffa, and there found a body of cavalry drawn up on the opposite bank to dispute their passage. Cœur de Lion dashed into the stream at the head of his knights, routed the Moslems, and pitched his tents on the left bank of the river. The next morning, (Tuesday, September 10th,) his advanced guard marched into Jaffa, but the fortifications had been utterly destroyed by Saladin, the walls were levelled with the dust, and there was no shelter to be found within them, either for man or beast. The tents of the Templars were accordingly pitched in a beautiful olive grove on the sea-shore.

The army of the cross had been sixteen days in marching from the banks of the river Belus to Jaffa, a distance of seventy miles; they had secured possession of so much only of the country as their soldiers stood upon, and had been forced to draw all their supplies from their ships. As they advanced, Saladin had laid waste all the

* Ea die ordinati in exercitu Templarii procedebant extremi, et seriatim profecti sunt et caute, propter hostium repentinas incursiones. *Vinisauf*, lib. iv. cap. 24.

country before them, driven away the inhabitants, and carried off all the cattle, corn, and provisions. The towns of Cæserea, Ramleh, Jaffa, Ascalon, and all the villages, had been set on fire and burnt to ashes, and all the castles and fortresses within reach of the crusading army were dismantled and destroyed. Among these last were the castles of St. George, Galatia, Blancheward, Beaumont, Belvoir, Toron, Arnald, Mirabel, the castle of the plain, and many others.* Every place, indeed, which could afford refuge to the crusaders, or serve them as a strong place of occupation, was utterly destroyed by command of the inexorable Saladin. Bohadin tells us that the sultan mourned grievously over the destruction of the fair and beautiful city of Ascalon, saying to those around him, "By God, I would sooner lose my sons than touch a stone of this goodly city, but what God wills, and the good of Islam requires, must be done."† The walls and fortifications of Ascalon were of great extent and stupendous strength, and an army of thirty thousand men was employed for fourteen days in the work of demolition. "The weeping families were removed from their houses, amid the most heart-rending confusion and misery," says Bohadin, "that I ever witnessed." Thousands of men were employed in dashing down the towers and the walls, and throwing the stones into the ditches and into the adjoining sea, and thousands were occupied in carrying away property and the contents of the public granaries and magazines. But ere half the effects had been removed, the impatient sultan ordered the town to be set on fire, "and soon," says Bohadin, "the raging flames were to be seen, tearing through the roofs and curling around the minarets of the

ROBERT DE SABLE. A.D. 1191.

* *Vinisauf*, ut sup. cap. 23. † *Bohadin*, cap. 120, p. 199.

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mosques." The great tower of the Hospitallers was the only edifice that resisted the flames and the exertions of the destroyers. It stood frowning in gloomy and solitary magnificence over the wide extended scene of ruin. "We must not depart," said Saladin, "until yon lofty tower has been brought low," and he ordered it to be filled with combustibles and set on fire. "It stood," says Bohadin, "by the sea-side, and was of amazing size and strength. I went into it, and examined it. The walls and the foundations were so solid, and of such immense width, that no battering machines could have produced the slightest effect upon them."*

Every heart was filled with sorrow and mourning at the sight of the scorched and blackened ruins of the once fair and beautiful Ascalon. "The city," says Bohadin, "was very elegant, and, in truth, exquisitely beautiful; its stupendous fortifications and lofty edifices possessed a majesty and grandeur which inspired one with awe."† Ascalon, once the proudest of the five satrapies of the lord of the Philistines, is now uninhabited. The walls still lie scattered in huge fragments along the sea-shore, mixed with columns and broken pillars, which are wedged in among them, and amid the confused heaps of ruin which mark the site of the ancient city, not a single dwelling is now visible. "The king shall perish from Gaza," says the prophet Zechariah, "and Ascalon shall *not be inhabited.*"

The sixteen days' march from the banks of the Belus to Jaffa appears seriously to have damped the ardour of the great bulk of

* *Bohadin*, cap. 120, apud *Schultens*, p. 201.

† Erat autem perelegans ea et per sane venusta, validissimis mœnibus, celsissimis ædificiis, ita ut terrorem quendam gravitate et firmitate incuteret. *Bohadin*, ut sup. apud *Schultens*, p. 199. *Ibn Alat.* p. 523—525.

the crusaders, and to have completely sickened them of the holy war. A vast many, on their arrival at Jaffa, embarked in their ships, and returned to the brothels and drinking-houses at Acre,* and others, thinking that they had already fully performed their vow, were anxious only to secure a speedy passage to Europe. King Richard urged the duke of Burgundy, and the other chieftains, either to march forthwith to Ascalon, before Saladin had completed the destruction of the fortifications, or to proceed at once to undertake the siege of the Holy City; but the king's wishes were opposed, and the council of war determined that the army should remain at Jaffa and rebuild the fortifications. The unfavourable season for military operations was now rapidly advancing, and it is evident that the chieftains had abandoned every serious idea of marching upon the Holy City, King Richard, however, was determined not to be idle, and he sent the king of Jerusalem in one of his galleys to Acre, to bring back the pilgrims who had proceeded to that place, and shortly afterwards he set out himself upon the same errand. He returned to Jaffa with the queen of Jerusalem, and the youthful queen of England, and with a large body of mercenary troops, whom he retained in his pay,

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The Templars, in the mean time, were employing themselves in foraging expeditions, and on one occasion they encountered a superior force of 4,000 Moslem cavalry. Heedless, as usual, of the number of their enemies, and anxious only for the crown of martyrdom, the military friars dashed into the midst of the advancing Mussulmen, and fearlessly maintained with them a terrific and bloody combat. Intelligence of the affray was brought to king Richard, who

* *Vinisauf*, lib. iv. cap. 27.

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immediately despatched the earl of Saint Paul, and the earl of Leicester, with a chosen body of English, to their assistance; but the whole party was overpowered and in danger of being cut to pieces, when Cœur de Lion himself hurried to the scene of action with his famous battle-axe, and rescued the Templars from their perilous situation.*

Whilst the fortifications of Jaffa were rebuilding, negotiations were entered into with Saladin, for the conclusion of a treaty of peace. The sultan's brother Saifeddin visited king Richard, and was magnificently entertained in the royal tent. A mutual exchange of presents took place, and on the 16th of October the English monarch wrote a letter to Saladin, exhorting him to put an end to the holy war in which so much blood had been shed, and so many of the fairest provinces of Asia desolated and laid waste; but he demanded, as the price of peace, the restitution of Jerusalem, of Palestine, and the true cross. "Jerusalem," says the king, "we consider to be the seat of our religion, and every one of us will perish rather than abandon it. Do you restore to us the country on this side Jordan, together with the holy cross, which is of no value to you, being in your eyes a mere piece of wood, but which we Christians prize greatly; we will then make peace, and repose from our incessant toils." "When the sultan," says Bohadin, who was

* Expedite descenderunt (Templarii) ex equis suis, et dorsa singuli dorsis sociorum habentes hærentia, facie versâ in hostes, sese viriliter defendere cœperunt. Ibi videri fuit pugnam acerrimam, ictus validissimos, tinniunt galeæ a percutientium collisione gladiorum, igneæ exsiliunt scintillæ, crepitant arma tumultuantium, perstrepunt voces; Turci se viriliter ingerunt, Templarii constanter rejiciunt, hi imminent, illi retundunt; Turci probe invadunt, Templarii se strenuissime defendunt. *Vinisauf*, cap. 30, p. 366, 367.

himself a participator in the negotiation, "had read this letter, he took counsel with his emirs, and sent a reply to the following effect:—'The Holy City is held in as great reverence and estimation by the Moslems, as it is by you, ay, and in much greater reverence. From thence did our prophet Mahomet undertake his nocturnal journey to heaven, and upon that holy spot have the angels and the prophets at different periods been gathered together. Think not that we will ever surrender it. Never would we be so unmindful of our duty, and of that which it behoves us to do, as good Mussulmen. As to the country you speak of, it hath belonged to us of old, and if you took it from the Moslems when they were weak, they have taken it from you now that they are strong, as they have a right to do. You may continue the war, but God will not give you a stone of the land as a possession, for he hath given the country to the Moslems, to be by them plentifully and bountifully enjoyed. As to the cross, the reverence you pay to that bit of wood is a scandalous idolatry, disrespectful to the Most High, and hateful in the sight of God. 'We will, therefore, not give it to you, unless by so doing we can secure some great and manifest advantage for Islam.'"* ROBERT DE SABLE. A. D. 1191.

On the 15th of November, the Templars marched out of Jaffa with king Richard and his army, and proceeded through the plain towards Jerusalem. As they advanced, Saladin slowly retired before them, laying waste the surrounding country, destroying all the towns and villages, and removing the inhabitants. Between noon and evening prayers, the sultan rode over to the city of Lidda, where St. Peter cured Æneas of the palsy, and employed

* *Bohadin*, cap. 125.

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his army, and a number of christian slaves, in the destruction of the noble cathedral church erected by Justinian, and in the demolition of the town.* Saladin then fell back with his army to Beitnubah, a small village seated upon an eminence at the extremity of the plain of Ramleh, at the commencement of the hill country of Judea, and leaving his forces encamped at that place, he proceeded to Jerusalem to superintend the reparation of the fortifications, and to put the Holy City in a good state of defence. "On Friday morning, at an early hour," says Bohadin, "the sultan mounted on horseback, and ordered me to accompany him. The rain fell in torrents. We marched towards Jerusalem. We dismounted at the monastery near the church of the Resurrection, and Saladin remained there to pass the night." The next morning at dawn the sultan again mounted on horseback, and rode round the walls of the Holy City. The whole population, together with two thousand christian captives, had for weeks past been diligently employed in the reparation and reconstruction of the fortifications. Forty expert masons had arrived from Mossul, together with engineers and artificers from all the Mussulman countries of Asia. Two enormous towers were constructed, new walls were built, ditches were hollowed out of the rocks, and countless sums, says Bohadin, were spent upon the undertaking. Saladin's sons, his emirs, and his brother Adel, were charged with the inspection of the works; and the sultan himself was on horseback every morning from sunrise to sunset, stimulating the exertions of the workmen.†

* Lyddam adiit, inspexitque cujus Templum quum cerneret magno et firmo opere structum, id, dirui præcepit.—*Bohad.* apud *Schultens*, cap. 121.

† *Bohadin*, cap. 121, 122.

Whilst Saladin was making these vigorous preparations for the defence of Jerusalem, the proceedings of the christian chieftains manifested that they had no serious intention of undertaking the siege of the Holy City, whatever may have been the hopes and expectations of the ignorant and deluded pilgrims who accompanied their march. They halted at Ramleh, the ancient Arimathea, situate in the middle of the plain, about nine miles from Jaffa, and lingered amid the ruins of the place for six weeks. The Templars and Hospitallers employed themselves in the interval in foraging expeditions, and in making daring inroads into the neighbouring Moslem territories. At midnight, on the festival of the Holy Innocents, (Dec. 28,) they sallied from their camp, scoured the mountains in the direction of Jerusalem, and at morning's dawn they returned to Ramleh with more than two hundred oxen.* The pilgrims murmured at the long delay at Ramleh, and on New Year's day, A. D. 1192, orders were again issued for the advance of the army. The Templars and the Crusaders proceeded about six miles across the plain to Beitnubah, which lies, as before mentioned, at the foot of the mountains forming the hill country of Judea, and there they again halted.† They were now at the entrance of the gorges and defiles leading to the Holy City; but these defiles were guarded by a powerful army under the personal command of Saladin, and the warriors of the cross ventured not to penetrate them.

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To understand the position of the Templars and the Crusaders, and comprehend the difficulties before them, it must be observed that their line of march had hitherto been confined to the plain

* *Vinisauf*, lib. iv. cap. 32.

† *Vinisauf*, p. 371. *Bohadin*, cap. 153.

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bordering the sea-coast, where the invaders and the invaded fought on equal terms, whereas from Beitnubah to Jerusalem they would have to pass through a winding mountain ravine along the bed of a torrent, and a cross pathless rocks which have never yet been smoothed or levelled to facilitate the approach of man.* Amid the rocks and precipices of this mountain region the heavily armed European knights would fight at every disadvantage against the active and lightly-armed Arab archers. The warriors of the cross, moreover, drew all their supplies from their ships, the surrounding country being wasted and desolate, and any lengthened interruption of their communication with the fleet would be attended with the most disastrous consequences. Having fresh in their recollection the frightful famine which ensued in the christian camp before Acre, when the ships were driven off the coast by the storms of the winter, the Templars had no desire to experience the same awful calamities in the barren and desolate ravines and valleys around the Holy City, and they therefore declared the siege of Jerusalem to be, under existing circumstances, impracticable, and advised Cœur de Lion to retire to Ascalon for the winter, and employ his forces in the capture of the wealthy caravans and convoys which were constantly proceeding from the fertile land of Egypt to Saladin's army.† Orders were accordingly given for a retrograde movement to Ramleh, and the crusaders, disappointed and disgusted with the result of the campaign, became disorganised

* "It is singular," justly observes Dr. Clarke, "that no attempt was ever made to facilitate the approach to the Holy City. The wildest parts of the Apennines are not less open to travellers."—*Travels*, vol. iv. 8vo. chap. ix. p. 420.

† *Vinisauf*, p. 372, 373.

and disbanded. The weather was frightful, tempests of rain and hail, thunder and lightning, succeeded one another without cessation; the tents were torn to pieces by furious whirlwinds, and all the provisions of the army were destroyed by the wet. The camels, horses, and beasts of burthen, perished from fatigue and the inclemency of the weather, and their distracted owners were to be seen with clenched hands pouring forth bitter imprecations, and accusing Heaven as the cause of all their misfortunes. ROBERT DE SABLE. A. D. 1192.

The Templars and the Hospitallers faithfully adhered to the standard of the king of England, and marched with him from Jaffa along the sea-coast to the ruins of Ascalon; but the other warriors, who owned no allegiance to the sovereign of England, abandoned him. The duke of Burgundy and the French proceeded to enjoy themselves in the luxurious city of Acre: some of the crusaders remained at Jaffa, and others went to Tyre and joined the rebellious party of Conrad, marquis of Monferrat. During the march from Jaffa to Ascalon, a distance of twenty-eight miles, the Templars suffered great hardships from hail-storms and terrific showers of rain and sleet; and on their arrival amid the ruins of the once flourishing city, they were nearly starved, by reason of the shipwreck of their vessels freighted with the necessary supplies. They pitched their tents among the ruins on the 20th of January, and for eight days were compelled to subsist on the scanty supply of food they had brought with them from Jaffa.* During the winter they assisted king Richard in the reconstruction of the fortifications, and took an active part in the capture of

* *Vinisauf*, p. 374, 375.

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several convoys and caravans which were traversing the adjoining desert from Egypt.

Whilst the Templars and Hospitallers and the kings of England and Jerusalem thus remained under tents or in the open fields planning the overthrow and destruction of the infidels, Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, the pretender to the throne of the Latin kingdom, was traitorously intriguing with Saladin for the advancement of his own schemes of private ambition. He was supported by the duke of Burgundy and the French, and was at the head of a strong party who hated king Richard, and envied him the fame of his military exploits. The marquis of Montferrat went to Saladin's camp. He offered, Bohadin tells us, to make war upon king Richard, to attack the city of Acre, and join his forces to those of the sultan, provided the latter would cede to him the maritime towns of Tyre, Sidon, and Beirout, and all the sea-coast between them.* The traitorous correspondence of the marquis with the infidels was brought to the ears of king Richard, who summoned him to appear in the camp at Ascalon, and take part in the dangers and difficulties of the war. To this summons the marquis replied that his *feet* should not bring him, nor would he bring his *feet*;† and shortly afterwards throwing off the mask, he attempted to gain possession of the city of Acre; but the Pisans, who were in the interests of the king of Jerusalem, shut the gates, manned the walls, and successfully resisted him until the arrival of king Richard, who rushed to their assistance, and drove the marquis back to Tyre.

In an assembly of the barons, Richard denounced this ambitious

* *Bohadin*, cap. 122—132.

† *Vinisauf*, p. 377.

and unprincipled nobleman as a traitor, and it was declared that he had forfeited his right to the share of the revenues of the Latin kingdom which had been allotted to him by the council of Acre. Transported with indignation, the marquis made fresh overtures to Saladin, and a treaty was concluded between them to the following effect. Conrad was forthwith to declare war against the king of England, and co-operate with Saladin for the destruction of the English army; all the towns taken by their joint forces were to belong to him, but the booty and the captives found in them were to be the property of Saladin, and all the places then in the occupation of king Richard and the forces under his command were to be given up to the marquis, excepting the city of Ascalon.* ROBERT DE SABLE. A. D. 1192.

Immediately after the making of this treaty, and before it could be carried into execution, the Marquis of Montferrat was assassinated. On the 29th of April he went to dine with the bishop of Beauvais, at Tyre, and was returning home through a narrow street, when two assassins plunged their daggers into his body, crying out, "Thou shalt be neither marquis nor king."† Six days after his death, and almost before his body was cold in the grave, the fickle and unfeeling queen Isabella, married Henry, the powerful count of Champagne, nephew of king Richard. The nuptials were celebrated on the 5th of May, and messengers were immediately despatched to king Richard and the Templars at Ascalon, announcing the memorable event. The count of Champagne had arrived in Palestine, at the head of a powerful body of forces, during the siege of Acre, and by his valour and military talents, had, at different periods, greatly

* *Bohadin*, cap. 141.—143.

† *Bohadin*, cap. 144. *Vinisauf*, cap. 26.

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contributed to the success of the christian arms. He was generally popular; he possessed great influence in the councils of the christian chieftains, and a general desire was manifested for his recognition as king of Jerusalem. The Templars accordingly induced Guy de Lusignan to wave his right to the throne of the Latin kingdom, and an arrangement was entered into to the following effect. Guy de Lusignan agreed to abdicate in favour of Isabella and the count of Champagne, who were immediately to be crowned king and queen of Jerusalem; and as a recompense for the loss of the empty title, and the shadowy kingdom, Guy de Lusignan was to receive from the Templars the wealthy and important island of Cyprus, which had been ceded to them, as before mentioned, by king Richard, they reserving to themselves certain splendid possessions in the country, which they were to hold as private property. This arrangement was facilitated by the opposition which had been made by the Cypriots to the government of the order of the Temple.

The Grand Master had sent over to Cyprus a hundred of his knights, and a considerable body of troops, to take possession of the island. They found it in a state of anarchy and confusion, and attempted to restore order, and establish a settled form of government; but the Cypriots, who followed the rites of the Greek church of Constantinople, could not endure the dominion of the Latin monks, and entered into a conspiracy to massacre all the Templars in the island. The Grand Preceptor of Cyprus, having received intelligence of the designs of the conspirators, concentrated all his forces together at Nicosia, the capital of the country, and established his head quarters in the castle of the city. A general insurrection broke out; a countless multitude of the insurgents surrounded the Tem-

plars, cut off their supplies, and ventured to attack them in their position, but they were little aware of the sort of soldiers they had to deal with. On Easter day, the warlike monks, after having received the holy sacrament, unfolded the Beauseant, for the first time, against their fellow-christians, and marched out of their intrenchments to attack the schismatic Greeks, determined to obtain an honourable death or a glorious victory. The knights and their followers charged on horseback through the narrow streets of the town, put the insurgents to flight, and slaughtered them without mercy. The carnage lasted the whole day, and, blinded by rage and religious hate, the military friars spared neither rank, age, nor sex.* ROBERT DE SABLE. A. D. 1192.

The disturbed and disaffected state of the country disposed the Templars to accede to the arrangement proposed by king Richard, for putting an end to the differences respecting the title to the throne of the Latin kingdom. They ceded the island to Guy de Lusignan, who became king or *emperor* of Cyprus,† and Henry and Isabella were crowned king and queen of Jerusalem. Jerusalem, however, yet remained to be conquered, and king Richard and the Templars still continued to linger amid the ruins of Ascalon. They were occupied in intercepting the caravans and convoys which were crossing the neighbouring desert, from Egypt to Palestine, and succeeded in setting at liberty many christian captives, who were proceeding from the one country to the other, to be sold in the common

* Ils en firent un carnage qui dura tout le jour, et ne laissèrent dans Nicosie ni hommes, ni femmes ! *L'art de verifier les dates*, tom. v. p. 347.

† *Vinisauf*, cap. 37, p. 392. Contin. hist. ut sup. col. 638. Guy de Lusignan transmitted the island to his brother Amaury, whose descendants held it until the year 1473.

ROBERT DE SABLE. A.D. 1192.

slave-markets. At the commencement of the month of May, the Templars surprised and took prisoners twenty soldiers of the castle of Daron, and brought them into king Richard's camp.*

The army remained amid the ruins of Ascalon until the second Sunday after Trinity, when the tents were struck, and the warriors of the cross once more resumed their march, with the avowed intention of laying siege to the holy city. They again proceeded, by easy stages, across the plain of Ramleh, and on the 11th of June, five days after they had left Ascalon, they reached Beitnubah. There they again halted for the space of an entire month, under the pretence of waiting for Henry, the new king of Jerusalem, and the forces which were marching under his command from Tyre and Acre. But the rugged mountains between Beitnubah and Jerusalem again formed the real cause of delay, and presented a barrier to their further progress.

Saladin had fixed his station in the holy city, leaving the main body of his army encamped among the mountains near Beitnubah. His mamlooks appear to have been somewhat daunted by the long continuance of the war, and the persevering obstinacy of the Christians. They remembered the bloody fate of their brethren at Acre, and pressed the sultan to reserve *his* person and *their* courage for the future defence of their religion and empire. Bohadin gives a curious account of the misgivings of the mamlooks, and their disinclination to stand a siege within the walls of Jerusalem. He was directed by the sultan to animate their failing courage, and exhort them to a strenuous perseverance in the holy war. In his address

* *Vinisauf*, p. 390.

to the chieftains, he called upon them to follow the glorious example of the companions of the prophet, and invited them to repair to the mosque of Omar, and upon the holy stone of Al Sahhara, to swear to fight to the last. God, he tells them, will bless their good purposes, and give them victory over the infidels. When Bohadin had ceased to speak, the sultan arose, and a profound silence reigned throughout the assembly, "they were as still as *if birds were sitting on their heads.*" "Praise be to God," said Saladin, "and may his blessing rest upon our Master, Mahomet, his prophet. Know ye not, O men, that ye are the only army of *Islam*, and its only defence. The lives and fortunes and children of the Moslems are committed to your protection. If ye now quail from the fight, (which God avert,) the foe will roll up these countries as the angel of the Lord rolls up the book in which the actions of men are written down. . . . . ." ROBERT DE SABLE. A. D. 1192.

At the close of the sultan's harangue, Saifeddin Meshtoob, and the Mamlooks exclaimed with one voice, "My Lord, we are thy servants and slaves; we swear, by God, that none of us will quit thee so long as we shall live."* But the anxiety of Saladin and the fears of the Mamlooks were speedily calmed by the retreat of the christian army.

When the pilgrims once more murmured at the long delay at Beitnubah, king Richard had recourse, as before, to the advice of the Templars and Hospitallers, declaring it to be his own opinion that the forces under his command were not sufficiently numerous to undertake the siege of Jerusalem, with the slightest chance of success. Vinisauf tells us that the king, in urging his objections to

* *Bohadin*, cap. 156, p. 235, 236.

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the enterprise, alluded to the difficulties that must be encountered traversing the mountains, and asked what would be the fate of the army under the walls of Jerusalem, if Saladin should descend with his forces into the plain of Ramleh, and cut off their communication with the fleet. He declared that the Templars and the Hospitallers were the best parties to give advice upon the occasion, as they were acquainted with the country, and knew the difficulties that would have to be encountered, and expressed himself perfectly ready to abide by their decision as to the most expedient course to be adopted. But the king declared that he would not *lead*, but would *follow* the army to the siege.* A great council was called together, consisting of five Knights Templars, five Hospitallers, five eastern Chieftains, and five western crusaders, who decided that the intention of laying siege to Jerusalem must be abandoned. Accordingly, on the 4th of July, the Templars and the crusaders, in sorrow and disappointment, once more made a retrograde movement from Beitnubah, and were immediately attacked by the Turkish cavalry, who rushed down from the mountains, infested their rear, and cut off all stragglers. A strong detachment of the Templars proceeded across the country to destroy the castle of Daron, and to garrison the newly-erected fortifications of Ascalon, whilst king Richard hastened to Jaffa, and from thence took shipping for Acre, intending

* Quibus Rex è contrario respondit. . . . si vobis placuerit nunc Jerusalem petere, vos non deseram, socius ero vester, non Dux, prosequar non præcedam. . . . quod si forte Salahadinus cum gente suâ descenderit in planam Ramulæ, et transitus viarum observans, ne quid ad nos victualium perveniat usitatos obsederit meatus? . . . Templarii quoque et Hospitalarii quicquid æstimaverint et fideliter decreverint, potius aggrediendum. *Vinisauf*, lib. vi, cap. 1, p. 403.

forthwith to return to England. He had collected his galleys together, and received the blessing of the Templars and Hospitallers, with their permission for his departure, when intelligence reached Acre that Saladin had advanced from Jerusalem, at the head of a powerful army, and laid siege to Jaffa. The Templars marched by land to the relief of the place, and Cœur de Lion hurried by sea. The English monarch leaped foremost upon the beach, drove the Saracens before him, and encamped, with a small force of only seventeen knights and three hundred archers, under the walls of the town. The next morning, on the discovery of his weakness, the infidels returned and boldly attacked him, but king Richard manfully maintained his position under the walls of Jaffa until the arrival of the Templars with the main body of the army; and we learn from the evidence of his enemies, that he rode furiously along their front, from the right to the left wing, without meeting an adversary who dared to encounter his career !* ROBERT DE SABLE. A. D. 1192.

The health, both of king Richard and Saladin, were in a declining state, they were mutually weary of the war, and after a few weeks of active hostility, a treaty of peace was entered into between the sultan, the king of England, Henry, king of Jerusalem, and the Templars and Hospitallers, whereby it was stipulated that the christian pilgrims should enjoy the privilege of visiting Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre without tribute or molestation; that the cities of Tyre, Acre, and Jaffa, with all the sea-coast between them, should belong to the Latins, but that the fortifications recently erected at Ascalon should be demolished. The count of Tripoli

* *Vinisauf*, p. 410—412. *Martene*, vet. script. tom. v, col. 636, 825, 829.

ROBERT DE SABLÉ. A. D. 1192.

and the prince of Antioch, were included in the treaty; and it was agreed, that during three years, three months, three weeks, and three days, all hostilities should cease. The Templars and the Hospitallers swore to the observance of this treaty, but the monarchs merely gave their word and their right hand.*

Immediately after the conclusion of peace, king Richard, being anxious to take the shortest and speediest route to his dominions, by traversing the continent of Europe, and to travel in disguise to avoid the malice of his enemies, made an arrangement with his friend Robert de Sablé, the Grand Master of the Temple, whereby the latter undertook to place a galley of the order at the disposal of the king, and it was determined that whilst the royal fleet pursued its course with queen Berengaria through the Straits of Gibraltar to Britain, Cœur de Lion himself, disguised in the habit of a Knight Templar, should secretly embark and make for one of the ports of the Adriatic. The plan was carried into effect on the night of the 25th of October, and king Richard set sail, accompanied by some attendants, and four trusty Templars.† The habit he had assumed, however, protected him not, as is well known, from the cowardly vengeance of the base duke of Austria.

GILBERT HORAL. A. D. 1194.

Shortly after the departure of king Richard, Robert de Sablé, the Grand Master of the Temple, was succeeded by Brother Gilbert Horal or Erail, who had previously filled the high office of Grand Preceptor of France.‡

* *Vinisauf*, lib. vi. cap. 2—36. *Bohadin*, p. 238, 262. *Abulfeda*, p. 51, 52. Matt. Par. p. 137, 143. Contin. hist. ut sup. col. 638, 640.

† Contin. hist. *Will. Tyr.* apud *Martene*, tom. v. col. 641.

‡ Hispania illustrata, tom. iii. p. 59. Hist. gen. de Languedoc, tom. iii. p. 409. *Cotton* MS. Nero E. VI. 23, i.

The Templars, to retain and strengthen their dominion in Palestine, commenced the erection of several strong fortresses, the stupendous ruins of many of which remain to this day. The most famous of these was the Pilgrim's Castle,* which commanded the coast-road from Acre to Jerusalem. It derived its name from a solitary tower erected by the early Templars to protect the passage of the pilgrims through a dangerous pass in the mountains bordering the sea-coast, and was commenced shortly after the removal of the chief house of the order from Jerusalem to Acre. A small promontroy which juts out into the sea a few miles below Mount Carmel, was converted into a fortified camp. Two gigantic towers, a hundred feet in height and seventy-four feet in width, were erected, together with enormous bastions connected together by strong walls furnished with all kinds of military engines. The vast inclosure contained a palace for the use of the Grand Master and knights, a magnificent church, houses and offices for the serving brethren and hired soldiers, together with pasturages, vineyards, gardens, orchards, and fishponds. On one side of the walls was the salt sea, and on the other, within the camp, delicious springs of fresh water. The garrison amounted to four thousand men in time of war.† Considerable remains of this famous fortress are still visible on the coast, a few miles to the south of Acre. It is still called by the Levantines, *Castel Pellegrino*. Pococke describes it

GILBERT HORAL. A. D. 1194.

* Castrum nostrum quod Peregrinorum dicitur, see the letter of the Grand Master, *Matt. Par.* p. 312, and *Jac. de Vitr.* lib. iii. apud Gest. Dei, p. 1131.

† "Opus egregium," says *James of Vitry*, "ubi tot et tantas effuderunt divitias, quod mirum est unde eas accipiunt."—*Hist. Orient.* lib. iii. apud Gest. Dei, tom. i. pars 9, p. 1131. *Martene*, tom. iii. col. 283. Hist. capt. Damictæ, apud Hist. Angl. script. XV. p. 437, 438, where it is called Castrum Filii Dei.

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as "very magnificent, and so finely built, that it may be reckoned one of the things that are best worth seeing in these parts." "It is encompassed," says he, "with two walls fifteen feet thick, the inner wall on the east side cannot be less than forty feet high, and within it there appear to have been some very grand apartments. The offices of the fortress seem to have been at the west end, where I saw an oven fifteen feet in diameter. In the castle there are remains of a fine lofty church of ten sides, built in a light gothic taste: three chapels are built to the three eastern sides, each of which consists of five sides, excepting the opening to the church; in these it is probable the three chief altars stood."* Irby and Mangles, referring at a subsequent period to the ruins of the church, describe it as a double hexagon, and state that the half then standing had six sides. Below the cornice are human heads and heads of animals in alto relievo, and the walls are adorned with a double line of arches in the gothic style, the architecture light and elegant.

To narrate all the exploits of the Templars, and all the incidents and events connected with the order, would be to write the history of the Latin kingdom of Palestine, which was preserved and maintained for the period of ninety-nine years after the departure of Richard Cœur de Lion, solely by the exertions of the Templars and Hospitallers. No action of importance was ever fought with the infidels, in which the Templars did not take an active and distinguished part, nor was the atabal of the Mussulmen ever sounded in defiance on the frontier, without the trumpets of the Templars receiving and answering the challenge.

On the death of Saladin, (13th of March, A. D. 1193,) the vast

* *Pococke*, Travels in the East, book i. chap. 15.

and powerful empire that he had consolidated fell to pieces, the title to the thrones of Syria and Egypt was disputed between the brother and the sons of the deceased sultan; and the pope, thinking that these dissensions presented a favourable opportunity for the recovery of the Holy City, caused another (the fourth) crusade to be preached. In a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, the holy pontiff exhorts that prelate, and the archbishops and bishops of the church in England, to engage the people committed to their charge to assume the cross and march against the persecutors of the faith of Jesus Christ, promising to all who would engage in the pious enterprise the usual spiritual advantages and blessings in this life and the life to come. He commands them also to urge his very dear son in Christ, the illustrious king of England, forthwith to send a well-equipped army to the succour of the holy territory. GILBERT HORAL. A. D. 1194.

The letters of the pope, and the sermons of his envoys, produced a great effect in Germany. Two expeditions were speedily organized in that country; the one, commanded by the dukes of Saxony and Brabant, embarked in the ports of the Atlantic and Baltic for Palestine; and the other, under the command of the archbishop of Mayence, and Valeran of Limbourg, marched along the Danube to Constantinople, whence the fleet of the Greek emperor Isaac transported them to Acre. These last were the first to arrive in Palestine, and their presence was extremely unwelcome and disagreeable to the Templars and the Latin Christians, who were then in the enjoyment of profound peace. The Germans, full of confidence in their own strength and military prowess, insisted on the immediate commencement of hostilities, in defiance of the truce, and demanded to be led forth against the infidels. The Templars and Hospitallers,

GILBERT HORAL. A. D. 1196.

and the Latin Christians, on the other hand, insisted upon the impolicy and dishonesty of such a proceeding: they represented to the Germans that their numbers were altogether insufficient to obtain any permanent or durable advantage; that they little knew the power and the resources of the enemy whom they desired thus wantonly to provoke, and urged them to await the arrival of the other christian warriors, who were shortly expected from the north of Europe. For this sage and honourable counsel the Templars and Hospitallers were reproached with treachery and lukewarmness in the christian cause; and the headstrong Germans, sallying out of Acre, committed some frightful ravages and atrocities upon the Moslem territories.

At the first intelligence of the violation of the truce, and the horrible barbarities committed upon the peaceable and unoffending Mussulman peasants and their families, the infidels rushed to arms; their intestine dissensions were at once healed, their chiefs extended to one another the hand of friendship, and from the distant banks of the Nile, from the deserts of Arabia, and the remote confines of Syria, the followers of Mahomet rallied around the same banner, and hastened once more to fight in defence of *Islam*. Al-Ma-lek, Al-a-del, Abou-becr Mohammed, the renowned brother of Saladin, surnamed *Saif-ed-din*, "Sword of the Faith," took the command of the Moslem force, and speedily proved himself a worthy successor to the great "Conqueror of Jerusalem." He concentrated a vast army in the Holy City, and assembling around him the emirs and the sheiks of the Arab tribes, he displayed the cruel barbarities committed by the Christians at a time of profound peace, when the Moslems were reposing in fancied security under the faith of trea-

ties. He drew a moving picture of the burning of their dwellings, the massacre of the men, and the ravishment of their wives and daughters, and lifting his eyes to heaven he invoked the judgment of the Most High upon the offenders; solemnly swearing that no truce or treaty of peace should ever again be entered into with the Christians, whom he characterized as the enemies both of God and man, and unfit to live. Having wrought up the Mussulman tribes to a high pitch of enthusiasm and fiery indignation, he quitted Jerusalem with his forces, and by his rapid movements speedily compelled the Germans to quit all the open country, and throw themselves into the fortified city of Jaffa. By a well-executed manœuvre, he then induced them to make a rash sortie from the town, and falling suddenly upon the main body of their forces, he defeated them with terrific slaughter. He entered the city, pell mell, with the fugitives, and annihilated the entire German force. The small garrison of the Templars maintained in the Temple of Jaffa was massacred, the fortifications were razed to the ground, and the city was left without a single christian inhabitant.* Such were the first results of this memorable crusade.

GILBERT HORAL, A. D. 1196.

The Templars and Hospitallers, on the receipt of this disastrous intelligence, employed not their time in vain regrets or useless lamentations, but vigorously exerted themselves in preparations for a war which they could now no longer postpone or avoid. They assembled their forces, and were making vigorous preparations to resist the infidels, when another terrible disaster ensued, to increase the terror and confusion in the Latin kingdom. The troops were marching out of the city of Acre, in the cool of the evening, to

* *Michaud.* Hist des croisades, tom 3, p. 30.

GILBERT HORAL. A. D. 1196.

encamp at Caiphas, four miles distant from the town, and the king placed himself at the castle window to see them pass. He was leaning forward watching their progress across the neighbouring plain, when he unfortunately overbalanced himself, and fell headlong into the moat.* He was killed on the spot, and queen Isabella was a second time a widow, her divorced husband Humfrey de Thoron being, however, still alive. She had three daughters by king Henry, Mary, who died young, Alix, and Philippine.

No time was lost in seeking out another husband for the widowed queen. Radolph of Tiberias became an aspirant for her hand, but the Templars and Hospitallers rejected his suit,† because he was too poor, declaring that they would not give the queen and the kingdom to a man who had nothing. "We will take counsel together," said they, "and make choice of some person who is able to govern the land and strong enough to defend it." They accordingly sent the chancellor of the emperor of Germany, who was staying at Acre, to Amauri, king of Cyprus, offering him the hand of Isabella and the crown of the Latin kingdom. Amauri had succeeded to the sovereignty of the island on the death of his brother Guy de Lusignan, (A. D. 1194,) and he eagerly embraced the offer. He immediately embarked in his galleys at Nicosia, landed at Acre, and was married to queen Isabella a few weeks after the death of the late king. The

* Et fu vespres quant il ot conté ses homes. It fist mettre les napes por souper. Il demanda a laver, l'en li apporta, et vint en droit d'une fenestre, qui en la tor en haut estoit où il manoit. Si come il lavoit ses mains il se lanca avant et chei de la fenestre a val, si fu mort. Contin. hist. *Guill. Tyr.* apud *Martene*, tom. v. col. 644, 645.

† Mai le Temple e l'Ospital furent encontre, et distrent que ne li donroit on mie. *Contin. hist.* ut sup. col 645.

two sovereigns were solemnly crowned, and proclaimed king and queen of Jerusalem and Cyprus. GILBERT HORAL. A D. 1197.

The Templars and Hospitallers, whilst thus carefully providing for the domestic tranquillity of the Latin kingdom, were not unmindful of the measures necessary to be taken for its defence. They repaired and rebuilt several of their ancient castles which had been dismantled and destroyed by Saladin, put the cities on the sea-coast in a state of defence, and, aided by a body of forces from Cyprus, they successfully maintained their positions until the arrival of the second division of the crusaders, who had left Europe under the command of the dukes of Saxony and Brabant. These noblemen disembarked at Acre, a few months after the capture of Jaffa, and the Templars and Hospitallers then took the field. Their presence speedily gave a favourable turn to the war. In a bloody battle, fought in the plain between Tyre and Sidon, the Arab cavalry was overthrown by the Templars, the entire Mussulman army was defeated, and Saif-ed-din, desperately wounded, retired from the field with his shattered forces, and fell back upon Damascus, The warriors of the cross, by the advice of the Templars, then laid siege to Beirout, which speedily surrendered, and the fall of this important city was followed by the reduction of Gabala and Laodicea, and all the maritime towns between Tripoli and Jaffa.*

The triumphant career of the crusaders, however, was again arrested by discord and dissension. An expedition was undertaken against the castle of Thoron, a strong fortress perched on the summit of a rocky mountain, situate between the chain of Anti-Libanus and

* Litera ducis Saxoniæ ad archiepisc. Coloniæ. *Otho. de S. Blazio*, ad ann. 1197. Collect. *Urt.* Contin. hist. ut sup. col. 646—648. Chron. de *Nangis*, ad ann. 1197. Jac. de Vitr. Hist. Hieros.

GILBERT HORAL. A. D. 1197.

the sea. After overcoming difficulties which appeared almost insurmountable, the warriors of the cross gained the summit of the eminence, and their exertions were on the point of being crowned with success, when it was rumoured that Saif-ed-din had advanced to the relief of the place, and was about to cut off their retreat. An inexplicable panic seized the assailants; they fled before an invisible enemy, abandoned all the advantages they had gained, and rushed precipitately to the sea-coast. Mutual recriminations followed, and a complete separation took place between the native forces of the Latin kingdom and the newly-arrived crusaders. The Templars and Hospitallers retired with the barons of Palestine and the patriarch of Jerusalem to Acre, whilst the Germans, finding themselves unable to keep the field, deprived of their assistance, threw themselves into Jaffa, and hastily rebuilt the fortifications of that place.

As soon as Saif-ed-din was aware of the separation of the disciplined bands of the Templars and Hospitallers from the raw and inexperienced Germans, many of whom fought under the command of fanatical bishops altogether ignorant of the art of war, he hastened to take advantage of their faults and follies, and attempted to play over again the bloody game which he had previously so successfully pursued. He induced the Germans to quit Jaffa and advance into the plain, where he attacked them with his whole army. This time, however, the christian warriors obtained the victory, but it was a dear-bought and a bloody triumph, purchased with the lives of their best men. The dukes of Saxony and Brabant both perished, together with many German bishops, barons, and knights, and a vast number of common soldiers. The survivors were loud and furious in their complaints; they accused the Tem-

plars and the Latin Christians of abandoning them, and even of conspiring with the infidels for their destruction.* GILBERT HORAL. A. D. 1197.

The grave quarrel appears to be mainly attributable to the indignation and exasperation of the christian inhabitants of Palestine, at the breach, by the Germans, of the important treaty concluded with the infidels by Richard Cœur de Lion. The Latins regarded the conquest of Jerusalem as an impracticable undertaking, and were disposed to remain in the quiet enjoyment of the territory they possessed in Palestine, rather than hazard the loss of all their possessions by attempting new conquests. The Germans, who had no stake or interest in the land, and were attached to it only by the passing enthusiasm of the day, could not understand these feelings, and treated the oriental Christians as traitors to the cause of the cross.

Shortly after the bloody battle in the plain of Jaffa, intelligence reached Palestine of the death of the emperor Henry VI., whereupon all the German chieftains hurried home, to pursue upon another theatre their own schemes of private ambition. After having provoked a terrific and sanguinary war they retired from the contest, leaving their brethren in the East to fight it out as they best could. These last, on viewing their desolated lands, their defenceless cities, and their dwellings destroyed by fire, exclaimed with bitterness and truth, "Our fellow Christians and self-styled allies found us at *peace*, they have left us at *war*. They are like those ominous birds of passage whose appearance portends the coming tempest."

* *Othonis de S. Blazio*, chron. apud *Martene*, tom. vi. p. 896. Contin. hist. bell. sacr. apud *Martene*, tom. v. *Chron. Nangis*, ad ann. 1197. *Arnold Lub.* cap. 5.

GILBERT HORAL. A. D. 1198.

The Germans left behind them a garrison in Jaffa. On the feast of St. Martin, the soldiers composing this garrison relaxed their vigilance, to celebrate the day in mirth, drinking, and debauchery, when they were surprised and overwhelmed by the merciless infidels, and were massacred to a man.*

The Latin kingdom was now in a most lamentable condition, and it is difficult to imagine how it could have been preserved in the face of so active and talented an enemy as Saif-ed-din, whose power almost equalled that of his brother, the famous Saladin; preserved, however, it was, although for many a long year but little succour of importance reached its distant shores. The Templars and Hospitallers occupied all the strong castles and fortresses of the land, and successfully maintained themselves in the maritime towns and most important points of the sea-coast. Their galleys kept the command of the sea, and the revenues of the two orders were employed in the purchase of corn and munitions of war from Cyprus and the neighbouring islands.

To add, however, to the difficulties and misfortunes of the Latin Christians, a quarrel sprung up between the two orders, touching their respective rights to certain property in Palestine. The matter was referred to the Pope, who gravely admonished them, representing that the infidels would not fail to take advantage of their dissensions, to the great injury of the Holy Land, and to the prejudice of all Christendom. He exhorts them to maintain unity and peace with one another, and appoints certain arbitrators to decide the differences between them.† De Vertot tells us that

* *Fuller*, book iii. cap. 16. *Abulfeda*. *Michaud*, extraits Arabes.

† Epist. *Innocent* III. lib. i. p. 324, epist. 567.

"the pretensions of the Templars were declared groundless," but he quotes no authority for the position, nor does it anywhere appear in favour of which party the matter in dispute was eventually decided. The quarrel was of no great importance, nor of any long duration, for the same year Pope Innocent wrote to both orders, praising them for their exertions in the cause of the cross, and exhorting them strenuously and faithfully to support with all their might the new king of Jerusalem, who had not only to defend Palestine against the infidels, but also the island of Cyprus against the claims and pretensions of the Greek emperor of Constantinople.*

GILBERT HORAT. A. D. 1199.

Pope Innocent III. confirmed all the ancient privileges of the Templars, and induced the sovereigns and potentates of Europe to confer upon them various additional advantages and immunities. They were exempted from taxes, tolls, and a variety of imposts, and their wealth and power continued steadily to increase in all parts of Christendom.† Their vast privileges and immunities, the power they possessed of celebrating divine service during interdict, and their exemption from tithes and other ecclesiastical imposts, brought them into constant collision with the clergy, and gave rise to disputes of great bitterness between the members of the order and the oriental bishops. During one of these quarrels concerning some ecclesiastical property, the bishop of Sidon ventured to fulminate a sentence of excommunication against the Grand Master and the brethren of the Temple, and all their friends and protectors; but he was speedily silenced by the pope, who censured him for his

* Lib. ii. epistolarum. *Inn. III.*, epist. 138.

† Reg. et constitut. ord. Cisterc. *Inn. III.* in cattulario. camp. fol. 166.

indiscretion, accused him of ignorance and malice, and suspended him from the exercise of all ecclesiastical functions.*

PHILIP DUPLESSIES. A. D. 1201.

The Grand Master, Gilbert Horal, was succeeded by brother Philip Duplessies, or De Plesseis,† who found himself, shortly after his accession to power, engaged in active hostilities with Leon I., king of Armenia. This potentate reigned over that mountainous tract of country which extends to the north of the principality of Antioch from the Mediterranean, along the confines of Cilicia to Mount Taurus and the Euphrates. The Armenians of this district had embraced the Monophysite heresy, but after the conquest of Syria and Palestine by the Latins, they became reconciled to the church of Rome. The petty kings of this small portion of Armenia, seated amid the gorges and fastnesses of Mount Taurus, maintained some show of independence. Disputes frequently arose between them and the princes of Antioch, and during the prevalence of hostilities, Leon I. took possession of the castle of Gaston, which belonged to the Knights Templars. This violent proceeding gave rise to a serious quarrel between the king of Armenia and the powerful order of the Temple. Long and tedious negotiations ensued between them for the restoration of the castle without success; and when Philip Duplessies was placed at the head of the fraternity, he unfolded the Beauseant, and made war upon the Armenian monarch. The Templars drove king Leon out of Antioch, compelled him to give up the castle of Gaston and sue for peace. A suspension of arms was agreed upon; the matters

* *Innocent.* L. ii. epist. 257.

† *Cotton* MS. Nero E. VI., p. 60, fol. 466. *Ducange*, Gloss. tom. vi. p. 1036. L'art de verif., tom. v. p. 348.

in dispute between them were referred to the pope, and were eventually decided in favour of the Templars.* PHILIP DUPLESSIES. A. D. 1202.

The Templars appear at this period to have recovered possession of most of their castles and strongholds in the principalities of Tripoli and Antioch. Taking advantage of the dissensions between the neighbouring Moslem chieftains, they had gradually driven the infidels across the Orontes, and restored the strong mountain districts to the christian arms.

Ere the dispute with the king of Armenia was finally terminated, the Templars found themselves engaged in a warfare more congenial with their religious principles and profession. Some christian vessels were plundered by Egyptian pirates; king Amauri complained to Saifeddin, but receiving no satisfaction, he made reprisals upon the infidels. The Templars unfolded their war-banner, and at midnight they marched out of Acre, with the king of Jerusalem† to make an inroad into the Moslem territories; they extended their ravages to the banks of the Jordan, and collected together a vast booty. Their brethren in Acre were to be informed of their movements by letters tied to the necks of pigeons, and they were alarmed by the arrival of a bird with nothing but a red ribbon, the emblem of battle and bloodshed, around its neck; but the letter attached to the ribbon had been lost; and the next morning another pigeon arrived with the happy intelligence of their safety and success.

* L'art de verifier les dates, tom. v. p. 349. Epist. *Innocent III.* lib. ii. epist. 259. Gesta *Innocentii*, p. 72, 75.

† Li Templiers e li Hospitaliers, li uns fist l'avant garde, et l'autre l'arrière garde. Contin. *Will. Tyr.* ut sup. col. 660.

PHILIP DUPLESSIES. A. D. 1205.

After ravaging a large tract of country, the Templars were compelled to retire before a superior force, and the infidels once more became the assailants. Coradin, sultan of Damascus, encamped at the head of a large body of forces at Sepphoris, and then marched against the hill fort Doc, which belonged to the Templars. The place was only three miles distant from Acre, and the population of the town was thrown into the utmost consternation.* The military friars, however, succeeded in repulsing the invaders, and had restored tranqullity to the Latin kingdom, when the prospects of the land were again overcast by the death of the king. Amauri had partaken somewhat too plentifully of a favourite dish of fish, and was seized with an alarming illness, which speedily hurried him to the grave. He died at Acre on the 1st of April, A. D. 1205, and queen Isabella was a fourth time a widow. Amauri had issue by Isabella one daughter; but before the close of the year both the mother and the child died at Acre. The crowns of Jerusalem and Cyprus, which were united on the heads of Amauri and Isabella, were now after their decease again divided. Mary, the eldest daughter of the queen, by the famous Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, was acknowledged heiress to the crown of the Latin kingdom, and Hugh de Lusignan, the eldest son of Amauri by his first wife, succeeded to the sovereignty of the island of Cyprus. This young prince married the princess Alice, daughter of Isabella by king Henry, count of Champagne, and half sister to the young queen Mary by the mother's side.

The young and tender princess who had just now succeeded to the throne of the Latin kingdom, was fourteen years of age, and

* Contin. *Will. Tyr.* col. 660—662. *Marin. Sanut.* p. 204.

the Templars and Hospitallers were her natural guardians and protectors. They directed the military force of the Latin empire in the field, and the government of the country in the cabinet: and defended the kingdom during her minority with zeal and success against all the attacks of the infidels.*

PHILIP DUPLESSIES. A. D. 1207.

During the Grand Mastership of Philip Duplessies, the Templars incurred the grave displeasure of the Holy See. The haughty and ambitious Pope Innocent III., for the purpose of bending all temporal sovereigns to implicit obedience to his pontifical commands, freely exercised against the nations of Europe the dreaded sentence of interdict, the great instrument of vengeance and policy employed by the court of Rome.. The kingdoms of France, Flanders, Bohemia, and Portugal, were successively subjected to the terrors of this great spiritual weapon, and in the reign of king John, A. D. 1207, England was deprived by interdict of the exercise of all christian worship. The churches were closed, and all religious rites and ceremonies were suspended, excepting baptism to new-born infants, and the communion to the dying. The clergy were forbidden to perform the funeral service, the dead were no longer received into consecrated ground, but were buried in the open fields, without the prayers of the priests, or any hallowed religious ceremony whatever.

By Pope Alexander's famous bull, *omne datum optimum,* confirmed and ratified by all succeeding pontiffs, the Templars enjoyed the vast and important privilege of throwing open churches during interdict, and causing divine service to be celebrated within them by a chaplain of the Temple.† The exercise of this privilege

* Centuriatores Magdeburg. Centuria 13, col. 1357.

† Cum autem fratres vestri, qui ad suscipiendas collectas destinati fuerunt, in civitatem,

PHILIP DUPLESSIES. A.D. 1207.

brought abundance of alms and offerings to the priests of the order, and gave great umbrage to the regular clergy. The Templars, moreover, during interdict, were not involved in the spiritual calamities of the laity; they might hear mass with closed doors, and without the ringing of bells, and their priests might perform the funeral service over all deceased brethren. The Templars attempted to turn these privileges to their temporal advantage, by communicating them in return for gifts of money and land to the laity. In common with other religious bodies, they had, in connexion with the order, a class of lay brothers, termed associates of the Temple. These were persons who made donations to the Templars, and were received, in return, into a sort of spiritual confraternity with them, so that, without giving up their secular mode of life, or wearing the habit of the Temple, they might share in the merit of the good works performed by the fraternity. In times of interdict, the Templars admitted these lay-brothers to the same spiritual advantages as those enjoyed by the regularly professed brethren. They afforded them an opportunity of occasionally hearing mass in the churches of the Temple, of receiving the sacrament, and secured to them, if they should die during interdict, the advantages of christian burial, benefits of no small importance.

A single bishop, during the middle ages, sometimes laid towns, and sometimes an entire diocese, under interdict; but the Templars, being specially exempted from episcopal jurisdiction, maintained

castellum, vel vicum advenerint, si forte locus ille interdictus sit, in jocundo eorum adventu pro Templi honore, et eorundem militum reverentia, semel in anno aperiantur ecclesiæ, et exclusis excommunicatis, divina officia celebrentur. Acta *Rymeri*, tom. i. p. 32. ante p. 70, 74.

that the sentence did not extend to their churches or houses, and that none of their fraternity were involved in the spiritual thunder. Divine service, accordingly, on such occasions, continued to be celebrated in the Temple churches, and the laity flocked in crowds with rich offerings to the altars. The bishops made complaints, and general councils of the church fulminated orders upon the subject; but the irregularities still continued. When Pope Innocent III., however, began to make free and frequent use of the sentence of interdict against entire nations, for the offences of their rulers, the proceedings of the Templars drew down upon them the fiery indignation of that severe and haughty pontiff, who wrote a tremendous letter to the Grand Master, Philip Duplessies, characterising them as "scandalous and enormous abuses." PHILIP DUPLESSIES. A. D. 1207.

He declares that, "to the shame and sorrow of the Holy Roman church, their good mother, who had loaded them with many blessings and endless benefits, the Templars dared to preach in public on entering a town under interdict, that they had the power of opening all churches successively, to day one church, and to-morrow another, just as they pleased; and if it happened that there was no church in the place, they hesitated not to celebrate divine service every day in any convenient place, with doors open, and by sound of bell, unmindful that such practices enervated all regular discipline, and rendered useless interdicts." The pope accuses them, also, of the heinous offence of throwing open their own churches every day in places under interdict, and of causing mass to be celebrated by their priests, with loud ringing of bells. He declares that, instigated by the devil, they received every kind of scoundrel into confraternity with them, maintaining that any person who paid a few pence

PHILIP DUPLESSIES. A.D. 1207.

a-year to the order, became one of their fraternity, and could not be deprived of christian burial, so that known adulterers, usurers, and others, though lying under sentence of interdict, were honourably interred in their cemeteries; "and thus they themselves, being captive to the devil, cease not to make captive the souls of the faithful, seeking to make alive those whom they know to be dead."*

The Holy Pontiff requires the Grand Master to reform these irregularities and abuses, and the Templars appear to have given speedy satisfaction, for the next year Pope Innocent interested himself warmly in their behalf with the king of Armenia, between whom and the Templars fresh quarrels and disputes had arisen. The nephew of this potentate, and the count of Tripoli, had rival claims to the principality of Antioch, and had recourse to arms in support of their pretensions. The king of Armenia supported his nephew, and the Templars aided the count of Tripoli, justifying their resumption of arms on the ground that the Armenian monarch had again taken possession of the fort of Gaston, and unjustly kept possession of other places that belonged to the order.

The Armenian potentate carried his complaints to the pope, maintaining that it was contrary to the oaths of the Templars, and to the spirit of their institution, for them to wage war against a christian prince. The Templars, on the other hand, declared that they had a right to defend themselves when unjustly attacked, and might use force to recover possession of property which had been given to the order to enable it to defend and protect the Christians from the infidels. Innocent took the part of the Templars, and wrote a long letter to the king of Armenia, reproving him for his conduct.

* Lib. 10, epistolar. *Inn.* III., epist. 121.

"The Templars of whom you complain," says the Pope, "will cease to molest you, when you cease to attack them. It is lawful to repel force by force, and those of the brethren who are not in holy orders may do so without incurring any irregularity. Many sage persons are clearly of opinion that they may defend themselves by arms against your majesty, and resist the wrongs that you have done them. They have a right to defend Antioch against your attacks, because a great part of that city belongs to them. Many of their knights, moreover, have assured us that they received from Pope Alexander, one of our predecessors, permission to defend themselves by arms in case of necessity, and declare that, if we do not accord to them the same right, they will withdraw from Palestine. You know that they are brave, powerful, and capable of doing you great injury. Weigh well, therefore, high and mighty prince, the charitable advice that we give you, since we are animated by no other motive than of providing for your own welfare."* PHILIP DUPLESSIES. A. D. 1208.

The powerful Pope Innocent, though administering severe reproof, when the proceedings of the Templars marred the effect of his tremendous interdicts, was ever the steady friend of the order, and in the year 1209, he sent to the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital the sum of two thousand seven hundred livres of Provence, and fourteen hundred marks of silver, directing them to employ the money in defence of the Holy Land, according to their discretion, in concert with the most noble count John of Brienne.†

The count of Brienne was at this period on his passage to Palestine to marry the youthful queen Mary.

* *Innocent*, lib. 12, epist. 45.

† Epist. *Innocent*, lib. 12. epist. 28.

PHILIP DUPLESSIES. A. D. 1209.

The Templars and Hospitallers, as soon as the princess had arrived at marriageable years, had sent over the bishop of Acre and Aimar, lord of Cæsarea, to Philip Augustus, king of France, requesting that monarch to select from among his princes and nobles, a suitable husband for the young queen of Jerusalem. The king's choice fell upon the count of Brienne, who left France with a large cortége of knights and foot-soldiers, and arrived in Palestine on the 13th of September. The day after his arrival he was married to the young Queen, who had just then attained her seventeenth year,* and on the succeeding Michaelmas day, he was crowned king of Jerusalem.

At this period, the truce with the infidels had expired, the Grand Master of the Temple having previously refused to renew it,† and hostilities consequently recommenced. The Templars took the field with the new king of Jerusalem and his French knights, and gained some signal successes over the Moslems, whom they defeated, and drove across the desert into Egypt. But during their absence, the troops of the sultan of Damascus broke into the christian territories, and ravaged all the country up to the gates of Acre. The French knights soon grew tired of the war, and returned home to Europe, leaving the Templars and Hospitallers the sole defenders of the crown and kingdom of the sovereign they had deserted.

The Templars were still embarrassed with their disputes with the king of Armenia, and much christian blood was shed in the long and disastrous quarrel. The Grand Master, Philip Duplessies, was marching at the head of a body of his forces to victual a castle of

* Contin. hist. ut sup. col. 630. L'art de verif. tom. v. p. 69.

† *Marin. Sanut.* lib. 3, p. 206.

the order, situate in the dominions of the Armenian monarch, when he was attacked in a defile by some of the king's adherents. He lost several of his men, was himself severely wounded, and had one of his knights killed by his side. The Pope, hearing of the affair, wrote in very indignant terms to the bishops of Acre, Tripoli, Tyre, and Sidon, and to the patriarch of Antioch, directing them again to excommunicate the king of Armenia, and place his dominions under interdict.* PHILIP DUPLESSIES. A.D. 1211.

The year following, the Latin kingdom was thrown into mourning by the untimely death of the young queen Mary. She died at Acre, in the twentieth year of her age, leaving by the king her husband, an infant daughter, named Violante. The count de Brienne continued, after the example of Guy de Lusignan, to wear the crown, and exercise all the functions of royalty, notwithstanding the death of the queen. The Pope wrote to the Grand Master and brethren of the Temple, commanding them to support him in the possession of the throne, and vigorously to repress all attempts that might be made to create disaffection towards his person or government.†

We must now refer to a few events connected with the English province of the order of the Temple.

Brother Geoffrey, who was Master of the Temple at London, at the period of the consecration of the Temple Church by the patriarch of Jerusalem, died shortly after the capture of the Holy City by Saladin, and was succeeded by Brother Amaric de St. Maur, who is an attesting witness to the deed executed by king John, (A. D. 1203,) granting a dowry to his young queen, the beautiful Isabella of

* *Rainald*, ad ann. 1211, p. 207. *Innocent*, epist. lib. 14, epist. 109.

† Epist. *Innocent*, lib. 15. 208, 209. Tyr. Contin. hist. apud *Martene*, tom. v. col. 661.

PHILIP DUPLESSIES. A.D. 1213.

Angouleme.* The royal treasure was deposited in the Temple, and king John frequently resided there for weeks together, the writs to his lieutenants, sheriffs, and bailiffs, being dated therefrom.† The orders for the concentration of the English fleet at Portsmouth, to resist the formidable French invasion instigated by the pope, are dated from the Temple, and the convention between the king and the count of Holland, whereby the latter agreed to assist king John with a body of knights and men-at-arms, in case of the landing of the French, was published at the same place.‡

In all the conferences and negotiations between the mean-spirited king and the imperious and overbearing Roman pontiff, the Knights Templars took an active and distinguished part. Two brethren of the order were sent by Pandulph, the papal legate, to king John, to arrange that famous conference between them which ended in the complete submission of the latter to all the demands of the holy see. By the advice and persuasion of the Templars, king John repaired to the preceptory of Temple Ewell, near Dover, where he was met by the legate Pandulph, who crossed over from France to confer with him, and the mean-hearted king was there frightened into that celebrated resignation of the kingdoms of England and Ireland, "to God, to the holy apostles Peter and Paul, to the holy Roman church his mother, and to his lord, Pope Innocent the Third, and his catholic successors, for the remission of all his sins and the sins of all his people, as well the living as the dead."§ The following year, the

* Acta et fœdera *Rymeri*, tom. i. p. 134, ed. 1704.

† Ib. p. 165, 173. Itinerarium regis Johannis, by Thomas Duff Hardy, published by the Record Commissioners.

‡ Acta *Rymeri*, tom. i. p. 170, ad ann. 1213.

§ *Matt. Par.* ad ann. 1213, p. 231, 236, 237. *Matt. Westr.* p. 271, 2. *Bib. Cotton.* Nero

commands of king John for the extirpation of the heretics in Gascony, addressed to the seneschal of that province, were issued from the Temple at London,* and about the same period, the Templars were made the depositaries of various private and confidential matters pending between king John and his illustrious sister-in-law, "the royal, eloquent, and beauteous" Berengaria of Navarre, the youthful widowed queen of Richard *Cœur de Lion*.† The Templars in England managed the money transactions of that fair princess. She directed her dower to be paid in the house of the New Temple at London, together with the arrears due to her from the king, amounting to several thousand pounds.‡

PHILIP DUPLESSIES. A. D. 1213.

John was resident at the Temple when he was compelled by the barons of England to sign MAGNA CHARTA. Matthew Paris tells us that the barons came to him, whilst he was residing in the New Temple at London, "in a very resolute manner, clothed in their military dresses, and demanded the liberties and laws of king Edward, with others for themselves, the kingdom, and the church of England."§

King John was a considerable benefactor to the order. He

c. 2. Acta *Rymeri*, tom. i. p. 172, 173. King John resided at Temple Ewell, from the 7th to the 28th of May.

* Teste meipso apud Novum Templum London . . . . Acta *Rymeri*, tom. i. p. 195. ad ann. 1214, ed. 1704.

† "Formam autem rei prolocutæ inter nos et ipsos, scriptam et sigillo nostro sigillatam . . . in custodiam Templariorum commisimus."—*Literæ Regis sorori suæ Reginæ Berengariæ*, ib. p. 194.

‡ Berengaria Dei gratiâ, quondam humilis Angliæ Regina. Omnibus, &c. salutem . . . . Hanc pecuniam solvet in domo Novi Templi London. Ib. p. 208, 209, ad ann. 1215.

§ *Matt. Par.* p. 253, ad. ann. 1215.

PHILIP DUPLESSIES. A. D. 1213.

granted to the fraternity the Isle of Lundy, at the mouth of the rivern Severn; all his hand at Radenach and at Harewood, in the county of Hereford; and he conferred on the Templars numerous privileges.*

The active and enterprising pope Innocent III. had long been endeavouring to throw an additional lustre around his pontificate by achieving the reconquest of Jerusalem. By his bulls and apostolical letters he sought to awaken the ancient enthusiasm of Christendom in favour of the holy war; but the European sovereigns were too intent upon their own private quarrels, and too much occupied in the politics of Europe, to attend to the voice of their pontiff. France and England were at war, Germany was torn by intestine dissensions consequent upon the death of the emperor, and the nations seemed altogether to have forgotten the existence of the Holy Sepulchre. Following the example of pope Urban, Innocent at last determined to call together a general council of the church to aid in the arming of Europe for the recovery of the Holy City.

The bulls for the convocation of this council were disseminated throughout the east and west, and the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital were required to send representatives to the august assembly.† Previous to the assembling of the council the pope sent a long letter to them, inquiring into the military force of the infidels, and the amount of territory held by the Moslems in Palestine.‡

* *Monast. Angl.* vol. vi. part ii.

† *Aquirius*, tom. iii. Concil. Hisp. p. 546.

‡ Rer. Italicar. script., tom. vii. col. 986.

The council assembled at Rome in the summer of the year 1215. PHILIP DUPLESSIES. A. D. 1215. It was attended by four hundred and twelve bishops, two patriarchs, and seventy-one primates or metropolitans; by the representatives of the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital, and by ambassadors from Frederick the Second, king of Sicily, and emperor elect of Germany, from Henry, emperor of Constantinople, and from the kings of France, England, Hungary, Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Aragon. In a moving and eloquent discourse, pope Innocent exhorted this august assembly to take immediate measures to deliver Jerusalem from the yoke of the infidels. "The sacred land of Palestine," says the holy pontiff, "which has been watered with the blood of our divine Saviour, still, alas! remains profaned by the footsteps of the barbarous infidel, and the places which have been consecrated by the corporal presence of the Son of God, have become a temple of the devil. . . . . Is it not a scandal and an everlasting reproach to Christendom, that the son of Hagar should still keep the mother of all the faithful in servile bondage?" The assembled bishops, barons, and knights warmly responded to the exhortations of the pope; they decreed the immediate preaching of another crusade, and appointed the 1st of June, A. D. 1217, as the day of general rendezvous.* James of Vitry, bishop of Acre, the great admirer of the Knights Templars,† Cardinal de Courcy, an Englishman, a disciple of Fulk of Neuilly, and many other talented prelates, monks, and priests, went forth into all christian countries to preach the crusade.

The emperor Frederick, John, king of England, the king of

* *Matt. Par.* Concil. Lat. iv., sermo primus.

† Contin. hist., ut sup., col. 681.

PHILIP DUPLESSIES. A.D. 1217.

Hungary, the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, and many prelates, nobles, and knights, besides crowds of persons of inferior degree, assumed the cross. Some prepared to fulfil their vow, and embark for the far East, but by far the greater portion of them paid sums of money to the clergy to be exempt from the painful privations, dangers, and difficulties consequent upon the long voyage. The king of Hungary, and the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, were the first to set out upon the pious enterprise. They placed themselves at the head of an army composed of many different nations, embarked from Venice, and landed at the port of St. Jean d'Acre at the commencement of the year 1217.

The day after the feast of All Saints they marched out of Acre, and pitched their tents upon the banks of the brook Kishon; and the next day the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Templars and Hospitallers, came with great pomp and solemnity into the camp, bearing with them a piece of the true cross. It was pretended that this piece of the cross had been cut off before the battle of Tiberias, and carefully preserved by the oriental clergy.* The kings and princes went out barefoot and uncovered to receive the holy relic; they placed it at the head of their array, and immediately commenced a bold and spirited march to the Jordan.

Under the guidance and direction of the Templars and Hospitallers, they followed the course of the brook Kishon, by the ruins of Endor, to the valley of Jezreel, and traversing the pass through the mountains of Gilboa to Bisan or Scythopolis, they descended into

* Crux secta fuit; pars ad prælium delata, et ibidem perdita; pars reservata quæ nunc exhibetur! *Bernard. Thesaur.* apud rer. Italicar. script. tom. vii. p. 821.

the valley of the Jordan, and pitched their tents on the banks of that sacred river. There they remained for two days, bathing in its limpid waters, and cherishing the delicious associations and recollections connected with the spot. From Bisan they proceeded up the valley of the Jordan to the lake of Tiberias, skirted its beautiful shores to Bethsaida, passing in front of the strong citadel of Tiberias, and then proceeded across the country to Acre, without meeting an enemy to oppose their progress. But these peaceful and delightful pilgrimages, however gratifying to the minds of the crusaders, were of little advantage to the Latin kingdom, and the Templars pressed the christian chieftains to undertake without further loss of time the siege of the important fortress of Mount Thabor.

PHILIP DUPLESSIES. A. D. 1217.

This famous mountain, the reputed scene of the transfiguration of our Lord, is situate about six miles from Nazareth, and about thirty miles from the city of Acre. There was an ancient fortress upon the mount, which was taken by Antiochus king of Syria, and afterwards by Vespasian. Josephus encompassed the extensive area on the summit of the hill with a wall, which he built in forty days, and withinside this wall stood a city which he calls Ataburion. A magnificent church was erected upon the spot by the empress Helena, which became a cathedral when the town was made a bishop's see. After the battle of Tiberias the place fell into the hands of the infidels, and the fortifications of the mountain were destroyed by Saladin; but in the year 1211 they were restored by command of Saif-ed-din, and a numerous garrison was maintained within the ample circuit of the walls, which made continual inroads into the christian territories, and ravaged the country up to the very gates of Acre.

PHILIP DUPLESSIES. A. D. 1217.

At the commencement of the autumn, the Templars marched from Nazareth with the crusaders, to undertake the siege of this formidable fortress. The patriarch, and the bishops and clergy, preceded the christian warriors, bearing the lately-discovered fragment of the cross, and singing hymns and spiritual songs. The kings of Hungary, Jerusalem, Armenia, and Cyprus, led the centre of the army, whilst the Templars and Hospitallers commanded in the van and the rear. The fortress was regularly invested, but the height and steepness of the mountain rendered the transportation of heavy battering machines and military engines to the summit a tedious and laborious undertaking. The troops suffered from the want of water, their patience was exhausted, and the four kings and their followers, being anxious to return home, speedily found excuses for the abandonment of the siege. In vain did the Templars remonstrate, and offer to guarantee the perfect security of the christian forces, if they would only maintain their position and prosecute the siege; the kings and the leaders of the host were deaf to their entreaties, and orders for a retrograde movement to Nazareth were issued to their followers. The customary scene of disorder and confusion then ensued; a large body of Arab horsemen, which had crossed the Jordan, infested the rear of the retiring crusaders. The disordered pilgrims and foot soldiers were panic-stricken, and fled to the hills; and the retreat would have been disastrous, but for the gallant conduct of the Templars and Hospitallers, who covered the rear and sustained the repeated charges of the Arab cavalry. The two orders sustained immense loss in men and horses, and returned in sorrow and disgust to their quarters at Acre.*

* *Bernardus Thesaurarius* apud script. rer. Italicar. tom. vii. cap. 187, p. 823. *Tyr.* Contin.

The Grand Master Philip Duplessies had been unable to take part in the expedition; he was confined to the Temple at Acre by a dangerous illness, of which he died a few days after the return of the Templars from Mount Thabor. Immediately after his decease a general chapter of knights was assembled, and Brother William de Chartres was elevated to the vacant dignity of Grand Master.* Shortly after his accession to power, the new Grand Master wrote the following letter to the pope. WILLIAM DE CHARTRES. A. D. 1217.

"To the very reverend father in Christ the Lord Honorius, by the providence of God chief pontiff of the holy Roman Church, Brother William de Chartres, humble Master of the poor chivalry of the Temple, proffereth all due obedience and reverence, with the kiss of the foot.

"By these our letters we hasten to inform your paternity of the state of that Holy Land which the Lord hath consecrated with his own blood. Know, that at the period of the departure of these letters, an immense number of pilgrims, both knights and foot soldiers, marked with the emblem of the life-giving cross, had arrived at Acre from Germany and other parts of Europe. Saif-ed-din, the great sultan of Egypt, hath remained closely within the confines of his own dominions, not daring in any way to molest us. The arrival of the king of Hungary, and of the dukes of Austria and Moravia, together with the intelligence just received of the near approach of the fleet of the Friths, has not a little alarmed him. Never do we

hist. apud *Martene*, tom. v. col. 682. *Jac. de Vitr.* apud Gesta Dei, per Francos, tom. i. pars. 2, p. 1230.

* *Cotton* MS. Nero E. VI. fol. 23 i.—p. 60. fol. 466. *Ducange*, Gloss. tom. vi. col. 1036. L'art de Verif. tom. v. p. 349.

WILLIAM DE CHARTRES. A. D. 1217.

recollect the power of the Pagans so low as at the present time; and may the omnipotent God, O holy father, make it grow weaker and weaker day by day. But we must inform you that in these parts corn and barley, and all the necessaries of life, have become extraordinarily dear. This year the harvest has utterly disappointed the expectations of our husbandmen, and has almost totally failed. The natives, indeed, now depend for support altogether upon the corn imported from the West, but as yet very little foreign grain has been received; and to increase our uneasiness, nearly all our knights are dismounted, and we cannot procure horses to supply the places of those that have perished. It is therefore of the utmost importance, O holy father, to advertise all who design to assume the cross of the above scarcity, that they may furnish themselves with plentiful supplies of grain and horses.

"Before the arrival of the king of Hungary and the duke of Austria, we had come to the determination of marching against the city of Naplous, and of bringing the Saracen chief Coradin to an engagement if he would have awaited our attack, but we have all now determined to undertake an expedition into Egypt, to destroy the city of Damietta, and we shall then march upon Jerusalem."

During their inroads and incursions into the adjacent Moslem territories, the Templars had taken captive a number of little infidel children, and James of Vitry, bishop of Acre, who accompanied their march, caused these children to be baptized and placed under the charge of some nuns at Acre, to be taught their catechism.*

After their return from the siege of Mount Thabor, the crusaders disbanded and hurried to the maritime towns of Syria and Palestine,

* *Bernardus Thesaurarius*, ut sup.

to seize the first opportunity of returning to their distant homes and families in Europe. The king of Hungary, thinking that his vow had been accomplished by a three months' residence in Palestine, precipitately embarked in his ships, and retired from the dangers and difficulties of the war; and the king of Cyprus was about to follow his example, when he fell sick and died at Tripoli. The duke of Austria, however, remained in Palestine during the winter, and in the spring a large body of crusaders, who had embarked in the ports of the Atlantic and the Baltic, reached the shores of the Holy Land. They were accompanied by a valiant band of Templars and Hospitallers from the northern countries of Europe, who were proceeding to Palestine to accomplish their vows, and fulfil the sacred duties of their profession. During their voyage to the Mediterranean, these military friars had halted with the crusaders on the coast of Portugal, and performed many brilliant exploits in various encounters with the unbelieving Moors.

WILLIAM DE CHARTRES. A. D. 1218.

In the month of May, the galleys of the Templars set sail from Acre, in company with the fleet of the crusaders, to undertake the expedition into Egypt. They cast anchor in the mouth of the Nile, and proceeded to lay siege to the wealthy and populous city of Damietta. This town was situated a mile from the sea, on the right bank of the Nile, and was protected on the side of the river by a double rampart; on the land side it was fortified with triple walls, strengthened with towers, and in the midst of the Nile rose the lofty castle of Taphnis, perched upon a rock, from whence a ponderous chain was stretched across the stream, completely barring the passage to all large vessels. The Templars, under the command of their Grand Master, William de Chartres, pitched their tents in the

William de Chartres. A. D. 1218.

plain on the left bank of the Nile, opposite the town, and surrounded their position with a ditch and a wall. They covered the river with their galleys, and with floating rafts furnished with military engines, and directed their first attacks against the castle in the midst of the stream.

For four months the battles and combats upon the land and upon the Nile were incessant. On one occasion, the Templars assisted the duke of Austria in the construction of a large machine, formed of the masts and yards of vessels, to which were appended numerous rope ladders, to facilitate the escalade of the castle; but when the assailants were mounting to the assault, the rope ladders broke, and they were precipitated headlong into the Nile. Large towers were erected upon floating rafts to protect the operations of the besiegers, but they were constantly destroyed by the terrible Greek fire, which was blown out of long copper tubes, and could be extinguished with nothing but vinegar and sand. At last a number of flat-bottomed boats were lashed together, and a tower, higher than the castle of the enemy, was erected upon them. It was ninety feet in height, thirteen cubits in length, and was divided into platforms or stages, filled with archers; numerous loop-holes were pierced in the walls, and the ponderous structure was thickly covered in every part with raw hides, to preserve it from the liquid fire of the enemy. Upon the top of the tower was a drawbridge which could be raised and lowered with chains, and on each platform were grappling irons, to be made fast to the battlements and parapets of the castle. On the 24th of August, the vast floating tower was towed to the point of attack, and the left bank of the Nile was covered with a long procession of priests and monks, who traversed the winding shore, with

naked feet and uplifted hands, praying to the God of battles for victory. Soon the shouts of the assailants and the assailed rent the air, and the patriarch of Jerusalem was seen prostrate in the dust, in the attitude of prayer, before the recently-discovered fragment of the Holy Cross. WILLIAM DE CHARTRES. A. D. 1218.

Whilst the infidels were hurrying to the summit of the castle of Taphnis, to direct the raging and roaring Greek fire upon the wooden tower, and to pour boiling oil and red-hot sand upon the heads of the assailants, some Templars, who were stationed in the lowest platform of the structure near the water, threw out their grappling-irons, and made a lodgment upon the causeway in front of the castle. Without a moment's delay, they handed out a battering-ram, and with one blow knocked in the door of the fortress. Combustibles were immediately thrown into the interior of the building, the place was enveloped in smoke and flames, and the garrison surrendered at discretion. The vast chain between the castle and the river was then rent asunder amid the exulting shouts of the whole army of the cross, and the large ships of the crusaders ascended the Nile, and took up a position in front of the town.

One of the vessels of the Templars sustained serious injury during the assault, but the loss on the whole was very trifling.*

The Friths and the Germans now became tired of the war, and returned home; but their places were soon supplied by the Genoese, the Pisans, and the French crusaders, who arrived in the christian camp under the command of the Papal legate. The warriors of the cross now remained in a state of inactivity in their ships and within

* *Bernard. Thesaur.* cap. 191, 192. *Jac. de Vitr.* hist. Orient. lib. iii. col. 1132, 1133. *Martene*, thesaur. anecd., tom. 3, col. 294, 295, &c. *Ibn-Ferat*, p. 770—2. *Ib'n Alat.* p. 538, 541.

WILLIAM DE CHARTRES. A. D. 1218.

the lines of their intrenched camp, not venturing to cross over to the right bank of the river, and lay siege to Damietta in due form. Malek Kamel, son of Saifeddin, was encamped at the head of a large army, opposite to the position of the crusaders. The communications between the city and the interior of the country, on the land side, remained uninterrupted, and as the Christians refused to move over the river to attack the town, the infidels at last determined to cross the Nile, and storm their intrenched camp.

At sunrise, on the 9th of September, the well-known sound of the brazen kettle-drum was heard on the left bank of the Nile, and the Templars hurried to their posts to oppose the fierce onslaught of the Moslems. During a long and bloody struggle, they performed prodigies of valour, and when evening came the infidels retired from the contest, leaving the plain covered with their dead. A few days afterwards the conflict was renewed, but the cross again triumphed over the crescent.

Towards the close of autumn, when the inundation of the Nile was at its height, a strong north wind arose, and impeded the descent of the waters to the Mediterranean. The christian camp was overflowed, the Templars lost all their provisions, arms, and baggage; and when the waters receded, several large fish were found in their tents. This catastrophe was followed by an epidemic fever, which carried off many of the brethren. At the commencement of the winter, the Grand Master, William de Chartres, was attacked by the disease, and speedily hurried to the grave. He was succeeded by the veteran warrior, Brother Peter de Montaigu, Grand Preceptor of Spain.*

PETER DE MONTAIGU. A. D. 1218.

* *Jac. de Vitr.* ut sup lib. iii. ad ann. 1218. Gall. chris. nov. tom. 2, col. 714, tom. 7, col. 229.

The death of the Grand Master of the Temple was speedily followed by that of the renowned Saif-ed-din, "sword of the faith," the brother and successor of Saladin.* This monarch had appointed his *fifteen* sons to separate and independent commands in his vast dominions, and after his decease they quarrelled with one another for the supremacy. Mashtoub, in concert with some emirs and rebellious mamlooks, attempted to dethrone his brother Malek Kamel, sultan of Egypt. A conspiracy was formed to seize the person of the latter in the Moslem camp before Damietta, and he was obliged to retire during the night to avoid the malice of his enemies. The Templars and the crusaders immediately crossed the Nile to take advantage of the disorder and confusion in the Mussulman camp. The infidels fiercely opposed their landing, and one of the vessels of the Templars being driven against the bank of the river, was boarded by an overpowering force of the enemy. During the conflict, the military friars cut a hole in the bottom of it with their hatchets, and the infidels and the Christians both met with a watery grave in the deep bosom of the Nile.

PETER DE MONTAIGU. A. D 1219.

When the landing was effected, the Templars were the first to mount on horseback and charge the enemy;† the Moslems abandoned their tents, provisions, and arms, and their camp was given

* Saphadinus, usurpator regnorum Asiæ, mortuus est, et sepultus est *in inferno! Jac. de Vitr.*, p. 1135. The Arabian writers give this prince a high character. They tell us that he used to spend his summers in Syria because of the fruit, the fresh air, and the water; and the winter in Egypt on account of the mildness of the climate. He had an enormous appetite, and could *eat a young lamb at a single meal! Ibn Ferat.* p. 770. *Ibn Alat.*, p. 538.

† Templarii præduces in ascensu equorum, erectis signis, propero cursu ad civitatem festinaverunt, sternentes perfidos qui audacter de portis egressi venientibus occurrerunt.—*Bernard Thesaur.* cap. 195.

PETER DE MONTAIGU. A. D. 1219.

up to plunder. A trench was then drawn around the city of Damietta, and the army took up a position which enabled them to deprive the town of all succour. Two bridges of boats were thrown across the Nile to communicate between the new camp of the crusaders and the one they had just quitted; and one of these bridges was placed under the protection of the Templars. In the meantime, Coradin, sultan of Damascus, another of Saladin's sons, having received intelligence of the state of affairs in Egypt, and of the precarious condition of Damietta, abandoned the siege of the Pilgrim's Castle in Palestine, which he had just before undertaken, and hurried with his forces to the banks of the Nile. He forced the camp on the left bank of the river, and attempted, but in vain, to gain possession of the bridge of boats guarded by the Templars.*

The duke of Austria now became tired of the war and returned home, thinking that he had fully accomplished his vow. Before his departure he presented to the Templars fifty marks of gold; and his brother, the count of Austria, gave them five hundred marks of silver.†

On the 31st of July, Coradin made another general assault upon the christian camp. The trenches were forced, the foot soldiers were put to flight, and a panic was rapidly spreading through the whole army of the cross, when Peter de Montaigu made a brilliant charge at the head of his knights, and drove back the leading columns of the enemy. "The spirit of Gideon," says James of

* Innumerabili exercitu equitum et peditum irruerunt super nos, undique fossatum nostrum invadentes, et maximè pontem Templariorum.—*Jac. de Vitr* p. 1137.

† *Jac. de Vitr.* p. 1137. *Bernard Thesaur.* cap. 195. Tyr. contin. hist.

Vitry, bishop of Acre, who was present, "animated the Templars; and the rest of the army, stimulated by their example, bravely advanced to their support. . . . . Thus did the Lord on that day, through the valour of the Templars, save those who trusted in him." * PETER DE MONTAIGU A. D. 1219.

On the 29th of August, the Templars and the crusaders marched out of their intrenchments to attack the Mussulman camp. After a sharp contest the infidels fled, and the crusaders abandoned themselves to the pillage of the tents; the Arab cavalry returned as usual to the charge, and the whole army of the cross would have been cut to pieces but for the Templars and Hospitallers, who kept the infidels in check, and enabled the disordered throng of christian fugitives to regain their intrenchments in safety.†

Damietta was now reduced to great straits; the population of the town had been thinned by the plague; the survivors were perishing with famine, and a deputation was sent into the christian camp offering terms of surrender. Two Knights Templars and two Hospitallers went into the town to arrange the details of the treaty, but being unable to come to terms with the inhabitants, they broke off the negotiations and returned to the camp. The same night a wooden bridge was thrown over the ditch, scaling ladders were reared against the battlements, and on the morning

* Clamor ortus est insultantium, timiditas aucta est Christianis. Sed spiritus qui induit Gedeonem Templarios animavit. Magister Templi cum Marescallo, cæterisque fratribus viriliter in fugam convertit incredulos. . . . . Sic salvavit Dominus in die illâ sperantes in se, per virtutem Templariorum.—*Jac. de Vitr.* p. 1138. *Bernard*, col. 834.

† In illo die, si non adesset rex Johannes, et Hospitalarii et Templarii omnes Christiani essent decollati, et ducti in captivitatem. Script. Ital. tom 8, col. 1098. *Jac. de Vitr.* p. 1139. *Bernard*, cap. 198.

PETER DE MONTAIGU. A. D. 1220.

of the 5th of November Damietta was taken by assault. When the Templars entered the town they found everywhere around them a dismal solitude; the plague was in every house, the streets were strewed with the dead, and nearly the whole population had perished by the sword, by famine, or disease.*

Immediately after the capture of Damietta, the Grand Master of the Temple returned with the king of Jerusalem to Palestine, to provide for the defence of the Latin kingdom.

During the ensuing spring, most of the crusaders, having spent all their money, returned home, fully satisfied with their period of service against the infidels, and the Templars and Hospitallers, with exhausted treasuries and diminished forces, had to maintain a desperate and sanguinary struggle for the preservation of their dominion in Palestine. Coradin invaded the country at the head of a vast army of horse and foot; he blockaded the city of Acre, and laid siege to the Pilgrim's Castle. In their intrenched camp at this place, the Templars mustered a force of upwards of four thousand men, who valiantly and successfully defended the important position against the obstinate and persevering attacks of the infidels. During the different assaults upon the place, Coradin lost six emirs, two hundred mamlooks, and a number of archers; and on one day alone he had a hundred and twenty valuable horses slain, one of which cost fourteen thousand marks.†

The Templars and Hospitallers, and the patriarch of Jerusalem, sent urgent letters to the pope for succour. They exhorted his

* *Jac de Vitr.* p. 1143. *Bernard*, cap. 200.

† *Oliverii*, hist. Damiatana, tom. 2, cap. 31, corporis hist. med. æv. Spicilegii, *Acheriani*, tom. 8, p. 373.

holiness to compel the emperor Frederick to perform his vow, and no longer to permit the crusaders to compound with money for the non-fulfilment of their engagements, declaring that such compositions had been most injurious to the cause of the cross.* The Grand Master also wrote to the pope, complaining to his holiness of the misapplication by the clergy of the money collected from their flocks, towards the expenses of the holy war, declaring that not a twentieth part of it ever reached the empty treasury of the Latin kingdom. The holy pontiff, in his reply, protests that he has not himself fingered a farthing of the money. "If you have not received it," says he, "it is not our fault, it is because we have not been obeyed."†

PETER DE MONTAIGU A. D. 1220

In a mournful letter to the bishop of Ely, the Grand Master gives the following gloomy picture of the condition of Palestine, and of the recent conquests in Egypt.

"Brother Peter de Montaigu, Master of the Knights of the Temple, to the reverend brother in Christ, N, by the grace of God, bishop of Ely, salvation. We proceed by these our letters to inform your paternity how we have managed the affairs of our Lord Jesus Christ since the capture of Damietta and the castle of Taphnis. Be it known to you, that during the spring passage to Europe, immediately subsequent to the capture of Damietta, so many of the pilgrims returned home, that the residue of them scarce sufficed to garrison the town, and the two intrenched camps. Our lord the

* "Imperatorem venire compellatis, prout nobis sæpissime promisistis, et alii cruce signati similiter compellantur exequi vota sua, *votorum redemptione cessante* de quo sustinemus evidentissimum detrimentum. Dat. Damiatæ, iii idus Novembris. *Martene*, vet. script. tom. 5, col. 1480.

† *Rainald*, ad. ann. 1220, n. 2, 3, 4.

PETER DE MONTAIGU. A. D. 1220.

legate, and the clergy, earnestly desiring the advancement of the army of Jesus Christ, constantly and diligently exhorted our people forthwith to take the field against the infidels; but the chieftains from these parts, and from beyond the sea, perceiving that the army was totally insufficient in point of numbers to guard the city and the camps, and undertake further offensive operations for the advancement of the faith of Jesus Christ, would on no account give their consent. The sultan of Egypt, at the head of a vast number of the perfidious infidels, lies encamped a short distance from Damietta, and he has recently constructed bridges across both branches of the Nile, to impede the further progress of our christian soldiers. He there remains, quietly awaiting their approach; and the forces under his command are so numerous, that the faithful cannot quit their intrenchments around Damietta, without incurring imminent risk. In the mean time, we have surrounded the town, and the two camps, with deep trenches, and have strongly fortified both banks of the river as far as the sea-coast, expecting that the Lord will console and comfort us with speedy succour. But the Saracens, perceiving our weakness, have already armed numerous galleys, and have inflicted vast injury upon us by intercepting all the succours from Europe; and such has been our extreme want of money, that we have been unable for a considerable period to man and equip our galleys and send them to sea for our protection. Finding, however, that the losses go on increasing to the great detriment of the cause of the cross, we have now managed to arm some galleys, galliots, and other craft, to oppose the ships of the infidels. And be it known to you that Coradin, sultan of Damascus, having collected together a vast army of Saracens, hath

attacked the cities of Tyre and Acre; and as the garrisons of these places have been weakened to strengthen our forces in Egypt, they can with difficulty sustain themselves against his attacks. Coradin hath also pitched his tents before our fortress, called the Pilgrim's Castle, and hath put us to immense expense in the defence of the place. He hath also besieged and subjugated the castle of Cæsarea of Palestine. PETER DE MONTAIGU. A. D. 1220.

"We have now for a long time been expecting the arrival of the emperor, and the other noble personages who have assumed the cross, by whose aid we hope to be relieved from our dangers and difficulties, and to bring all our exertions to a happy issue. But if we are disappointed of the succour we expect in the ensuing summer (which God forbid) all our newly-acquired conquests, as well as the places that we have held for ages past, will be left in a very doubtful condition. We ourselves, and others in these parts, are so impoverished by the heavy expenses we have incurred in prosecuting the affairs of Jesus Christ, that we shall be unable to contribute the necessary funds, unless we speedily receive succour and subsidies from the faithful. Given at Acre, xii. kal. Octob., A. D. 1220." *

The urgent solicitations of the Templars for money created loud murmurs in England, and excited the wrath of the great historian Matthew Paris, the monk of St. Albans, who hated the orders both of the Temple and the Hospital on account of their vast privileges, and the sums that they constantly drew away from the hands of other religious bodies. The clergy, who had undoubtedly misapplied the money collected by them for the relief of the Holy Land, joined eagerly in an outcry against the Templars, accusing them of

* Epist. apud. *Matt. Par.* p. 312, 313.

PETER DE MONTAIGU. A. D. 1221.

squandering their funds upon magnificent churches and expensive buildings in Europe, or of spending them at home in luxurious ease at their different preceptories, instead of faithfully employing them in the prosecution of the holy war. The Templars and Hospitallers were moreover accused of misapplying the money sent to them in the East, and of devoting it to purposes foreign to the objects and wishes of the donors.

As these scandalous reports and accusations could not but prove highly prejudicial to the two orders, the pope instituted an inquiry into the truth of them. The holy pontiff wrote to his legate at Damietta, to the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the principal chieftains of the army of the crusaders, for information upon the subject, and received a triumphant refutation of the calumnies which had been heaped upon the fraternities. In their reply to the pope, the legate and the patriarch state that the Templars and Hospitallers had expended vast sums of money in the prosecution of the siege of Damietta, and had impoverished themselves by the heavy expenses they had incurred in Egypt. The pope accordingly wrote to the bishops of France, England, and Sicily, commanding them to proclaim the innocence of the two orders throughout their dioceses, and to honour, and love, and protect them, as noble and generous defenders of the faith.*

During the summer of the year 1221, considerable succours arrived in Palestine and Egypt from Europe; the troops of the sultan of Damascus were repulsed and driven beyond the frontier

* Volumus et præcipimus ut eos tanquam veros Christi athletas, et præcipuos Christianæ fidei defensores, studeatis honorare diligere ac fovere, eorum super hoc declarantes innocentiam, et fidei virtutis constantiam prædicantes. Hist. des chev. de Matte, liv. iii.

of the Latin kingdom, and the Grand Master of the Temple returned to Damietta to superintend the military operations in Egypt. Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate, though altogether ignorant of the art of war, had unfortunately assumed the inconsistent character of commander-in-chief of the army of the cross. Contrary to the advice of the Templars,* he urged the crusaders, during the autumnal season, when the waters of the Nile were rising, to march out of Damietta to undertake an expedition against Grand Cairo.

PETER DE MONTAIGU. A. D. 1221.

The disastrous results of that memorable campaign are narrated in the following letter from Peter de Montaigu to the Master of the Temple in London.

"Brother Peter de Montaigu, humble Master of the soldiers of Christ, to our vicegerent and beloved brother in Christ, Alan Marcel, Preceptor of England.

"Hitherto we have had favourable information to communicate unto you touching our exertions in the cause of Jesus Christ; now, alas! such have been the reverses and disasters which our sins have brought upon us in the land of Egypt, that we have nothing but ill news to announce. After the capture of Damietta, our army remained for some time in a state of inaction, which brought upon us frequent complaints and reproaches from the eastern and the western Christians. At length, after the feast of the holy apostles, the legate of the holy pontiff, and all our soldiers of the cross, put themselves in march by land and by the Nile, and arrived in good order at the spot where the sultan was encamped, at the head of an immense number of the enemies of the cross. The river Taphneos,

* *Tyr.* Contin. hist. col. 692.

PETER DE MONTAIGU. A. D. 1221.

an arm of the great Nile, flowed between the camp of the sultan and our forces, and being unable to ford this river, we pitched our tents on its banks, and prepared bridges to enable us to force the passage. In the mean time, the annual inundation rapidly increased, and the sultan, passing his galleys and armed boats through an ancient canal, floated them into the Nile below our positions, and intercepted our communications with Damietta." . . . . "Nothing now was to be done but to retrace our steps. The sultans of Aleppo, Damascus, Hems, and Coïlanbar, the two brothers of the sultan, and many chieftains and kings of the pagans, with an immense multitude of infidels who had come to their assistance, attempted to cut off our retreat. At night we commenced our march, but the infidels cut through the embankments of the Nile, the water rushed along several unknown passages and ancient canals, and encompassed us on all sides. We lost all our provisions, many of our men were swept into the stream, and the further progress of our christian warriors was forthwith arrested. The waters continued to increase upon us, and in this terrible inundation we lost all our horses and saddles, our carriages, baggage, furniture, and moveables, and everything that we had. We ourselves could neither advance nor retreat, and knew not whither to turn. We could not attack the Egyptians on account of the great lake which extended itself between them and us; we were without food, and being caught and pent up like fish in a net, there was nothing left for us but to treat with the sultan.

"We agreed to surrender Damietta, with all the prisoners which we had in Tyre and at Acre, on condition that the sultan restored to us the wood of the true cross and the prisoners that he detained

at Cairo and Damascus. We, with some others, were deputed by the whole army to announce to the people of Damietta the terms that had been imposed upon us. These were very displeasing to the bishop of Acre,* to the chancellor, and some others, who wished to defend the town, a measure which we should indeed have greatly approved of, had there been any reasonable chance of success; for we would rather have been thrust into perpetual imprisonment than have surrendered, to the shame of Christendom, this conquest to the infidels. But after having made a strict investigation into the means of defence, and finding neither men nor money wherewith to protect the place, we were obliged to submit to the conditions of the sultan, who, after having extracted from us an oath and hostages, accorded to us a truce of eight years. During the negotiations the sultan faithfully kept his word, and for the space of fifteen days furnished our soldiers with the bread and corn necessary for their subsistence. PETER DE MONTAIGU. A. D. 1221.

"Do you, therefore, pitying our misfortunes, hasten to relieve them to the utmost of your ability. Farewell."†

Brother Alan Marcell, to whom the above letter is addressed, succeeded Amaric de St. Maur, and was at the head of the order in England for the space of sixteen years. He was employed by king Henry the Third in various important negotiations; and was Master of the Temple at London, when Reginald, king of the island of Man, by the advice and persuasion of the legate Pandulph, made a solemn surrender at that place of his island to the pope and his catholic

* Our historian, James de Vitry; he subsequently became one of the hostages. Contin. hist. apud *Martene*, tom. 5, col. 698.

† *Matt. Par.* p. 314. See also another letter, p. 313.

PETER DE MONTAIGU. A. D. 1222.

successors, and consented to hold the same from thenceforth as the feudatory of the church of Rome.*

At the commencement of the reign of Henry the Third, the Templars in England appear to have been on bad terms with the king. The latter made heavy complaints against them to the pope, and the holy pontiff issued (A. D. 1223) the bull "DE INSOLENTIA TEMPLARIORUM REPRIMENDA," in which he states that his very dear son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious king of the English, had complained to him of the usurpations of the Templars on the royal domains; that they had placed their crosses upon houses that did not belong to them, and prevented the customary dues and services from being rendered to the crown; that they undutifully set at nought the customs of the king's manors, and involved the bailiffs and royal officers in lawsuits before certain judges of their own appointment. The pope directs two abbots to inquire into these matters, preparatory to further proceedings against the guilty parties;† but the Templars soon became reconciled to their sovereign, and on the 28th of April of the year following, the Master, Brother Alan Marcell, was employed by king Henry to negotiate a truce between himself and the king of France. The king of England appears at that time to have been resident at the Temple, the letters of credence being made out at that place, in the presence of the archbishop of Canterbury, several bishops, and Hubert, the chief justiciary.‡ The year after, the same Alan Marcell was sent into

* Actum London, in domo Militiæ Templi, II. kal. Octob. *Acta Rymeri*, tom. 1, p. 234, ad ann. 1219.

† *Acta Rymeri*, tom. 1. ad ann. 1223, p. 258.

‡ Mittimus ad vos dilect. nobis in Christo, fratrem Alanum Marcell Magistrum militiæ

Germany, to negotiate a treaty of marriage between king Henry and the daughter of the duke of Austria.* PETER DE MONTAIGU. A. D. 1223.

At this period, Brother Hugh de Stocton and Richard Ranger, knights of the convent of the New Temple at London, were the guardians of the royal treasure in the Tower, and the former was made the depository of the money paid annually by the king to the count of Flanders. He was also intrusted by Henry the Third with large sums of money, out of which he was commanded to pay ten thousand marks to the emperor of Constantinople.†

Shortly after the disasters in Egypt, and the conclusion of the eight years' truce with the infidels, John de Brienne, the titular king of Jerusalem, prepared to bid adieu for ever to Palestine. Since the death of the young queen, his wife, he had regarded his kingdom as a place of exile, and was anxious to escape from the toil and turmoil and incessant warfare in which his feeble dominions were continually involved. His daughter Violante, the young queen of Jerusalem, had just attained her thirteenth year, and the king was anxious to seek a suitable husband for her from among the European princes. Accompanied by the fair Violante, he landed in Italy, and had an interview with the Pope at Rome. He had been instructed by the Templars and Hospitallers to lay their wants and necessities before the holy pontiff, and to exert himself to induce the emperor Frederick to fulfil his vow, and perform his oft-repeated

Templi in Angliâ, &c. . . . . Teste meipso apud Novum Templum London coram Domino Cantuar—archiepiscopo, Huberto de Burgo justitiario et J. Bath—Sarum episcopis. *Acta Rymeri*, tom. i. p. 270, ad ann. 1224.

* Ib. p. 275.

† Ib. p. 311, 373, 380.

PETER DE MONTAIGU. A. D. 1223.

promise, to lead a numerous army to Palestine to the succour and relief of Jerusalem. The Pope immediately convened a council of the clergy and the laity, to determine on the measures necessary to be taken to strengthen the Latin kingdom, and to repair the terrible disasters sustained in Egypt.*

This council assembled at Ferentino, in the Campagna di Romana, in the summer of the year 1223. It was attended by Pope Honorius the Third, by the emperor Frederick, the king John de Brienne, the patriarch of the Holy City, the bishop of Bethlehem, the Grand Master of the Hospital, and one of the Grand Preceptors of the Temple. The Pope urged the emperor to fulfil the vow which he had made eight years before to lead an army to the succour of the Holy Land; and to engage him the more firmly to the cause of the cross, the hand of the lovely Violante was offered him, together with the crown of the Latin kingdom, as the dowry of the young queen. The offer proved acceptable to the emperor, and the nuptials were shortly afterwards celebrated. Great were the rejoicings on the occasion; all mankind now expected the speedy conquest of the city of Jerusalem, and the restoration of all the holy places to the arms of the Christians. It was hoped that the emperor would establish his throne in the ancient city of David, and that all Syria and Palestine would once again be freed from the polluting presence of the infidels.†

Frederick solemnly took his oath upon the Holy Gospel to lead in person a great expedition to Palestine, for the recovery of Jerusalem, within two years from that period; and John de Brienne, accom-

* *Tyr.* Contin. Hist. ut sup, col. 695. † Ib.

panied by the Grand Master of the Hospital and a Grand Preceptor of the Temple, travelled through France, England, and Germany, to obtain the aid and co-operation of all the faithful. They were received with the greatest honour and distinction wherever they presented themselves, and the population of the towns and villages that lay in their route, came out to receive them with every demonstration of respect. They arrived in Paris shortly after the death of Philip Augustus, king of France, and attended the funeral of that once potent monarch.

PETER DE MONTAIGU. A. D. 1223.

King Philip bequeathed to the Templars one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver, to be employed by them in the defence of the Holy Land. He appointed his prime minister, Father Guerin, executor of his will; and the latter, before handing over the legacy to the fraternity, took the following guarantee from the Master of the Temple at Paris, for the due and faithful expenditure of the money, according to the wishes and intentions of the royal testator.

"Be it known to all men, that we, Brother William Catelli, humble Master of the Temple on this side the sea, have promised and solemnly sworn before the venerable Father Guerin, bishop of Senlis, chancellor of France, that no part of the one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver, confided to the knights of the Temple to be employed in the succour of the Holy Land, shall be expended in buildings, or purchases of any description, either here or beyond sea, but that the whole of it shall be faithfully employed in the maintenance of one hundred knights for the defence of Palestine, for three years; and the surplus, if any, shall be carefully expended in the reparation of the vessels, machines, and other things, maintained by the order in

PETER DE MONTAIGU. A. D. 1225.

Palestine, in the defence of the holy places, and in payment of the light cavalry employed under the command of the Turcopilar."*

After attending the funeral of king Philip, John de Brienne proceeded to Spain, and espoused the princess Berengaria, sister of Ferdinand, king of Castile.

The emperor Frederick, being unprepared to set out for Palestine at the appointed time, induced the Pope to grant him a further delay, on the following conditions: that he should positively depart within two years from the month of August, A. D. 1225; that in the mean time he should maintain two thousand knights to serve in the Holy Land; that, at three different times, he should defray the expense of the passage to Palestine of two thousand other knights, with their equipage, at three horses a knight; that he should keep fifty galleys, well manned, in the port of St. Jean d'Acre; that he should deposit a hundred thousand ounces of gold towards the expense of the above armaments, in the hands of John de Brienne, and the patriarch of Jerusalem; and, in case it should please God to take him out of the world before he could pass into the Holy Land, or his voyage should be deferred, that, then, the money should be disposed of for the benefit of the Latin kingdom, according to the advice of the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital.†

The glowing anticipations which had been formed from the union of the emperor with the young queen of Jerusalem were doomed to a speedy disappointment. Violante had been accompanied from Palestine by a female cousin, the niece of John de Brienne, a young lady possessed of powerful charms and many graceful accomplish-

* *Martene*, vet. script. tom. 1, col. 1177.

† *Rainald*, tom. 13, no. 4, p. 347.

ments. The emperor became captivated with her beauty, he dishonoured her, and treated his young wife, who was a mere child in years, with coldness and neglect.* The high spirit of John de Brienne could but ill brook this indignity. He bitterly reproached the emperor for his conduct, and concerted measures for taking summary vengeance upon him for the offence. He no longer exerted himself in support of his unworthy son-in-law, and the zeal of the Latin Christians in favour of their new king became greatly cooled by his cruel conduct to their tender queen.

PETER DE MONTAIGU. A. D. 1227.

In the middle of August, A. D. 1227, within the term prescribed by the pope, the emperor set sail from Brundusium with a powerful army, and was at sea three days, when he became annoyed by the motion of the ships, and returned to land on a plea of ill health. He was consequently publicly excommunicated by the pope in the great church of Anagni, the awful ceremony being ushered in by a terrific sermon, in which the holy pontiff took for his text the words of the Gospel, "It must needs be that offences come."

The Templars and Hospitallers shortly afterwards sent letters to the Holy See, representing that all the crusaders who had lately landed in Palestine with the view of joining the standard of the emperor, had returned to Europe in the ships which had brought them out, with the exception of about eight hundred knights, who

* Li diables qui vit le grant amor entre l'empereor et le roi Johan, si fu mult dolent, et entra en corps l'empereor, et li fist amer un niece le roi Johan, qui estoit venue avec sa fille. Il la depucela, et sa fame en hait. Dont il avint un jor que le roi Johan ala veoir sa fille, si la trouva en sa chambre mult corociée. Il li demanda qu'ele avoit, et ele li dist que tout ainsi avoit faite l'empereor de sa niece, qu'il l'avoit depucelée, et la tenoit, et li en haioit,—Desloial home! *Tyr.* Contin. hist. col. 696.

PETER DE MONTAIGU. A. D. 1228.

threatened also to return home unless the truce with the infidels was immediately broken.*

Without troubling himself to obtain a reconciliation with the holy see, the emperor again embarked with his forces at Brundusium, and arrived in the port of St. Jean d'Acre on the 8th of September, A. D. 1228. The pope, highly indignant at his contemptuous conduct, sent letters to Palestine denouncing him as publicly excommunicated, and commanding the Templars and Hospitallers not to join his standard. They accordingly refused to take the field, and as the forces under the command of the emperor did not amount to ten thousand men, he was obliged to remain inactive during the winter. He sent the count of Lucerna, however, to Cairo with rich presents to the sultan of Egypt, and with letters to that potentate, representing that he was not come to make war on him or to dispossess him of his dominions, but merely to perform a peaceful pilgrimage to the holy city.

As the Templars and Hospitallers paid implicit obedience to the pope, and treated the commands of the emperor with neglect and disdain, the latter sought to injure and annoy them in every possible manner. He instructed his lieutenant to seize all the property they possessed in his dominions in Europe, and to take possession of their preceptories. The pope complained to all Christendom of these violent proceedings against the military friars. "Leagued in friendship with the infidels," says the holy pontiff, "the emperor showers favours upon them, and manifests his hatred to Christians by ruining the habitations of the Templars and Hospitallers, who up to the present time have preserved all that remains to us of the holy

* *Matt. Par.* ad ann. 1227.

land. He has pillaged their houses and estates, and wishes to deprive them of the privileges conceded to them by the holy see, in order that he may subject them to his own imperial government and jurisdiction."* PETER DE MONTAIGU. A. D. 1229.

The emperor ventured to make some violent attempts against the two orders in Palestine, and sought to gain possession of their castles and strongholds; but the military friars flew to arms, and the German monarch thought fit to decline a conflict with them on the great theatre of their military power. Frederick continued during the winter to carry on friendly negotiations with the infidels, and a treaty was entered into whereby Jerusalem was nominally surrendered to him. It was stipulated that the Christian and Mussulman religion should meet with equal toleration in the holy city; that the followers of Mahomet should possess the mosque of Omar, and the Christians the great church of the Resurrection; that the Moslems should be governed by their own laws, and that the court of judicature in the forum Al Rostak should be under the direction of a Moslem governor.†

Immediately after the conclusion of this curious treaty, the emperor made a peaceful march to the holy city with a few attendants, and performed the solemn farce of crowning himself in the church of the Resurrection. The whole affair was a mere delusion. After a stay of a few days in Jerusalem, the emperor hurried back to Acre to prepare for his departure for Europe. No christian garrison was established in the city, nor did the Templars and Hospitallers venture to return to their ancient abodes.

* *Matt. Par.* ad ann. 1228.

† *Ibn Schunah*, ad ann. Hejir. 626. *Tyr.* Contin. hist. col. 699. *Marin Sanut.* p. 213.

PETER DE MONTAIGU. A. D. 1229.

Before embarking in his ships for Europe, the emperor indulged in various petty acts of spite and annoyance against the Templars and Hospitallers, and treated his Latin subjects with such arrogance and harshness, that the population of Acre rose in rebellion, and insulted the imperial ears with seditious and disloyal threats. Frederick accused the Templars of treason, and charged them with stimulating the population to insurrection against his person and government. The Templars asserted that they owed him no allegiance, that they recognised no temporal potentate as their sovereign, and yielded obedience to no commands but those which issued from the holy see. The disputes between the military friars and the excommunicated emperor proceeded to such a height, that a civil war was insensibly kindled in the Latin kingdom; but as all the clergy and the whole population were on the side of the Templars, the emperor found at last that he had no other resource than to embark in his ships, and bid adieu for ever to his recently-acquired Oriental kingdom. His violent conduct, immediately preceding his departure, is thus described in a letter from the patriarch of Jerusalem to the Pope.

"The emperor forgot himself so far as to address violent reproaches in public to that venerable and distinguished personage, the Grand Master of the Temple, with a view of exculpating himself at the expense of an innocent party, and of throwing upon another the blame of faults which were clearly and notoriously his own. . . . . He placed archers at the gates of the city of Acre, to prevent the Templars from entering into or proceeding out of the town. He moreover placed soldiers in all the streets leading to our quarter and the Temple, keeping us in a state of siege; and it is

evident that he has never treated the Saracens half so badly as he has treated the Christians. For a long time he refused to permit any provisions to be brought to us, and instructed his soldiers to insult the priests and the Templars whenever they met them. He moreover got possession of the magazines, and removed all the military machines and arms, preserved for the defence of the city, with a view of rendering good service to his kind friend the sultan of Egypt; and afterwards, without saying adieu to anybody, he embarked secretly on the 1st of May, leaving us worse off than he found us."* PETER DE MONTAIGU. A.D. 1231.

Shortly after his return to Europe, the emperor became alarmed by the spiritual thunder, and reconciled himself to the holy see, promising to amend his conduct, and afford no future ground of complaint. But his anger and indignation against the Templars and Hospitallers had not subsided; he continued to despoil them of their possessions, and the year after his re-admission into the bosom of the church, the pope was under the necessity of sending a nuncio to him, with a letter to the following effect:—

"Gregory, the ninth pope, to our beloved son Frederick, emperor of the Romans, always august, salvation and apostolical benediction. If you really desired, as you ought, to benefit and not to injure the cause of the Holy Land, you would not harass and oppress the Templars and Hospitallers, by whom that land has hitherto been governed and protected, in the midst of vast straits and difficulties, and without whose aid it cannot, as we believe, in any way be preserved, but you would rather extend to them your imperial kindness and protection, &c. . . . . "†

* *Od. Rainald*, ad ann. 1229.

† Ex registr. *Greg.* IX. t. ii. fol. 51. *Zapater.* Cist. Milit. cap. 8, p. 82.

HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1233.

The Templars, in revenge for the wrongs done them by the emperor, drove all the Germans out of Acre and other parts of Palestine, and compelled them to take refuge in the city of Tyre.

The Grand Master, Peter de Montaigu, died at Acre at an advanced age, and was succeeded by Brother Hermann de Perigord, Grand Preceptor of Calabria and Sicily.*

Shortly after his accession to power, the truce with the sultan of Aleppo expired, and Brother William de Montferrat, preceptor of Antioch, "being desirous of extending the christian territories to the honour and glory of Jesus Christ," besieged a fortress of the infidels in the neighbourhood of Antioch. He refused to retreat before a superior force, and was surrounded and overwhelmed; a hundred knights of the Temple and three hundred cross-bowmen were slain, together with many secular warriors, and a large number of foot soldiers. The *Balcanifer*, or standard-bearer, on this occasion, was an English Knight Templar, named Reginald d'Argenton, who performed prodigies of valour. He was disabled and covered with wounds, yet he unflinchingly bore the Beauseant, or war-banner, aloft with his bleeding arms into the thickest of the fight, until he at last fell dead upon a heap of his slaughtered comrades. The Preceptor of Antioch, before he was slain, "sent sixteen infidels to hell!"†

* Cotton MS. Nero E. VI. 23 i. p. 60, fol. 466. L'art de verif. tom. v. p. 351. *Ducange*, Gloss.

† Cecidit autem in illo infausto certamine illustris miles Templarius, Anglicus natione, Reginaldus de Argentomio, eâ die Balcanifer; . . . . . indefessus vero vexillum sustinebat donec tibiæ cum cruribus et manibus frangerentur. Solus quoque eorum Preceptor priusquam trucidaretur, sexdecim hostium ad inferos destinavit.—*Matt. Par.* p. 443, ad ann. 1237.

As soon as the Templars in England heard of this disaster, they sent, in conjunction with the Hospitallers, instant succour to their brethren. "The Templars and the Hospitallers," says Matthew Paris, "eagerly prepared to avenge the blood of their brethren so gallantly poured forth in the cause of Christ. The Hospitallers appointed Brother Theodore, their prior, a most valiant soldier, to lead a band of knights and of stipendiary troops, with an immense treasure, to the succour of the Holy Land. Having made their arrangements, they all started from the house of the Hospitallers at Clerkenwell in London, and passed through the city with spears held aloft, shields displayed, and banners advanced. They marched in splendid pomp to the bridge, and sought a blessing from all who crowded to see them pass. The brothers indeed, uncovered, bowed their heads from side to side, and recommended themselves to the prayers of all."* HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1236.

Whilst the knights Templars were thus valiantly sustaining the cause of the cross against the infidels in the East, one of the holy brethren of the order, the king's special counsellor, named Geoffrey, was signalising his zeal against infidels at home in England, by a fierce destruction and extermination of the Jews. According to Matthew Paris, he seized and incarcerated the unhappy Israelites, and extorted from them immense sums of money.† Shortly after-

* A *Clerkenwelle* domo sua, quæ est Londoniis, per medium civitatis, clypeis circiter triginta detectis, hastis elevatis, et prævio vexillo, versus pontem, ut ab omnibus videntibus, benedictionem obtinerent, perrexerunt eleganter. Fratres verò inclinatis capitibus, hinc et inde caputiis depositis, se omnium precibus commendaverunt.—*Matt. Par.* p. 443, 444.

† Et eodem anno passi sunt Judæi exterminium magnum et destructionem, eosdem arctante et incarcerante, et pecuniam ab eisdêm extorquente Galfrido Templario, Regis speciali consiliario.—*Matt. Par.* p. 489, ad ann. 1239.

HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1237.

wards, Brother Geoffrey fell into disgrace and was banished from court, and Brother Roger, another Templar, the king's almoner, shared the same fate, and was forbidden to approach the royal presence.* Some of the brethren of the order were always about the court, and when the English monarch crossed the seas, he generally wrote letters to the Master of the Temple at London, informing him of the state of the royal health.†

Shortly after the renewal of hostilities in the north of Syria with the sultan of Aleppo, the sultan of Hems refused to make the annual payments which by treaty he was bound to render to the Hospitallers of the castle of Crac, and the Templars immediately unfolded the Beauseant and joined their brethren of the Hospital, for the purpose of compelling the infidel chief to fulfil his engagements.‡ They penetrated the vast mountain range which divided the territories of the sultan of Hems from the principality of Antioch, and advanced into the plain of the Orontes. They attempted to storm the town of Montferrat, but found the place strongly defended by a mud wall, and all the entrances into the streets closed with strong barriers of wood defended by archers. They accordingly retired from the place, and pitched their tents beneath the fortified village of Lasonjaquiné, sending out their cavalry to pillage and lay waste the surrounding district. The sultans of Damascus and Egypt

* In ipsâ irâ aufugavit fratrem Rogerum Templarium ab officio eleemosynariæ, et a curiâ jussit elongari.—Ib.

† *Rymer*, tom. i. p. 404.

‡ Li soudan de Haman ne vout paier l'Ospital S. Johan d'une paie qu'il avoit usée a rendre au Crac, dont la treve brisa entre l'Ospital e le soudan, si que l'Ospital assembla gent por guerroier au soudan du Haman, et fu en cele assemblée le Maistre du Temple frère HERMANT DE PIERREGORT et tous ses Convens. *Tyr.* Contin. hist. col. 715.

advanced to the assistance of the sultan of Hems, at the head of 15,000 horse and a strong body of infantry. They threw themselves into the city of Hems on the right bank of the Orontes, and condescended to inquire into the merits of the dispute between the sultan and the Hospitallers. It was agreed that the annual payment to the order of the Hospital should be continued, and a treaty of peace was then concluded between the contending parties.* HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1238.

Having assisted the Hospitallers in bringing their private quarrel with the sultan of Hems to a satisfactory termination, the Templars marched with their forces into the mountain districts of the lesser Armenia, to take vengeance for an outrage which Haiton, the king of that country, had committed upon the order. This monarch had succeeded Leon I., and had inherited the dislike of his predecessor to the Templars. During a quarrel with some of the brethren in his dominions, he ventured to hang a Knight Templar, who had fallen into his hands, for indulging in some insolent threats in his presence.†

The Grand Master, Hermann de Perigord, united his forces to those of the prince of Antioch, and crossed the Armenian frontier at the head of a powerful army. King Haiton was terrified at his approach, and being totally unprepared to make an effectual resistance, he submitted to all the demands of the Grand Master, and

* *Tyr.* Contin. hist. ut sup.

† Quant le Maistre du Temple et si freres se furent partis de celui fait, si assemblerent avec le prince d'Antioch, et mena chascun son pooir, et s'en alerent en Hermenie por vengier un outrage que le roi d'Ermenie avoit fait au Temple de ne sai quans de lor freres qu'il avoit que pendu que escorciés, par achaison de ce qu'il disoit qu'il voloit atraire gent en la terre por lui grever. *Tyr.* Contin. hist. col. 717.

HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1239.

made full satisfaction and reparation for the injury and insult that he had inflicted.

As we are now approaching the memorable and interesting period when the holy city of Jerusalem was re-conquered, and once again possessed by the Christians, we must enter upon the consideration of the circumstances that led to the achievement of a result which all the kings and armies of Europe had successively attempted, but in vain, to accomplish.

We have before seen that the great Saladin was succeeded in the government of his vast dominions by his brother Saif-ed-din, who died during the siege of Damietta, leaving behind him fifteen sons, all of whom had been appointed to different commands in his widely-extended empire. His son, Al Malek Al Kamel, had received, as before mentioned, the government of Egypt, and successfully defended that country against the Franks. He was the most powerful of all the sons of Saif-ed-din, and claimed, and at different periods exercised, a sovereign authority over all his brothers. Next in power to Kamel was his brother Al Ashraf Mohaffero'ddin Musa Ibn Al Malek Al' Adel Abu Becr Ibn Ayub! sultan of Damascus, a valiant and potent prince, whose arms were attended with such success, that Ibn Schunah tells us that "his standard was never broken." He died 635 Hejir, (A. D. 1237,) and bequeathed his dominions to his brother Al Malek Al Saleh Ismael. The powerful Kamel, sultan of Egypt, however, not approving of the arrangement, marched with an army to Damascus, dethroned Saleh Ismael, and gave the government to his eldest son, Al Malek Al Saleh Nojmoddin Ayoub. Immediately after this event Kamel died, and his emirs raised his younger son, Al Kamel, to the throne of Egypt, regard-

less of the rights of the elder brother Nojmoddin Ayoub. The latter, consequently, marched with an army to the banks of the Nile, to assert his claims; but as soon as he had departed from Damascus, the dethroned Saleh Ismael advanced upon the city, accompanied by his uncle, the sultan of Hems, and reinstated himself in his lost authority. HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A.D. 1239.

Ayoub received intelligence of these events whilst halting at Jerusalem, on his way to Egypt, and he immediately compelled his uncle, Al Malek Al Nasser Daoud, sultan of Carac, whom he had taken prisoner, to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with him. They went together to the great mosque of Omar, in the Holy City, and swore to the observance of a treaty, whereby Nasser was to assist Nojmoddin Ayoub in the recovery of Egypt, and was to receive, in return for that service, the kingdom of Damascus, which was immediately afterwards to be conquered by their combined armies.* The first part of the engagement was speedily carried into execution, but the second was of far more difficult accomplishment.

A new crusade had already been preached in Europe by Pope Gregory IX.; and the Templars, expecting the arrival of speedy succour, and being desirous of taking advantage of the dissensions that had arisen amongst the infidels, had recommenced hostilities, and interrupted the communication between Egypt and Damascus. So favourable an opportunity, indeed, for the re-conquest of Jerusalem, had never before been presented to the Christians, and the Templars anxiously awaited the arrival of the crusaders. Unfortunately, however, the greater part of those who had assumed

* *Ibn Schunah*, ad ann. Hejiræ 637.

HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1239.

the cross in Europe, were permitted to compromise their vow, and fill the exhausted Papal treasury, under the pretence of paying money towards the expenses of the expedition. Thibaut I., king of Navarre, and count of Champagne, the duke of Burgundy, and the counts of Brittany and Bar, however, proceeded to Palestine with several other nobles and knights, and a considerable force of armed pilgrims.

They marched with a party of Templars to attack the sultan of Egypt, but were defeated in a bloody battle fought with the mamlooks, near Gaza. The count de Bar and many knights and persons of quality, and all the foot-soldiers, were slain; the count de Montfort was taken prisoner, and all the equipage and baggage of the army was lost. The king of Navarre and the survivors then retreated to Jaffa, and set sail from that port for St. Jean d'Acre.* On their arrival at this place, they joined the Grand Master of the Temple, who was encamped at the palm-grove of Caiphas, and was preparing to carry the war into the territories of the sultan of Damascus. They marched towards Tiberias, and on their arrival at Sepphoris, they met some messengers who were proceeding from Saleh Ismael, the sultan of Damascus, to the Grand Master of the Temple, with overtures of peace, and offers to surrender Jerusalem upon the following terms:—The Moslem and christian prisoners of war were immediately to be set at liberty; all Palestine, between the sea-coast and the Jordan, excepting the cities of St. Abraham, Naplous, and Bisan, was to be surrendered to the Christians; the Christians were to assist the sultan of Damascus in his war against

* *Tyr.* Contin. hist. col. 720, 721. *Marin. Sanut.* lib. iii. pars. 2, cap. xv. p. 215, ad ann. 1239.

Nojmoddin Ayoub sultan of Egypt; they were to march with all their forces to the south to occupy Jaffa and Ascalon, and prevent the latter potentate from marching through Palestine to attack the sultan of Damascus; and lastly, no truce was to be entered into with the sultan of Egypt by the Christians, unless the sultan of Damascus was included therein.* The Grand Master of the Temple joyfully acceded to these terms, and induced the chiefs of the crusaders to assent to the compact; but the Grand Master of the Hospital refused to be a party to it. It is said that he entered into a separate and independent treaty with Nojmoddin Ayoub, who had just mounted the throne of Egypt, so that one of the great military orders remained at war with the sultan of Damascus, and the other with the sultan of Egypt. Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty, the king of Navarre, the count of Brittany, and the greater part of the pilgrims, returned home, leaving the Templars to fulfil their engagement, and recover possession of the Holy City. The military friars accordingly proceeded to Jaffa with the count de Nevers, and the residue of the pilgrims,† and co-operated with an army which the sultan of Damascus had sent into that neighbourhood to act against the Egyptians.

HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A.D. 1239.

In the mean time, Richard, earl of Cornwall, the brother of Henry III., king of England, having assumed the cross, arrived in

* *Ibn Schunah*, ad ann. Hejir. 638. *Tyr.* Contin. hist. col. 722, 723. Iceste trive dont vos avès oi, avoit esté porchachié et faite par l'atrait du Temple, et sans l'accort de l'Ospital. Ib. col. 724. Prædictâ enim treugâ procuratione Templariorum firma est, Hospitaliorum minime interviente consensu. *Marin. Sanut.* cap. xv. p. 216.

† *Tyr.* Contin. hist. col. 724. Exceptis vero Hospitalariis, reliqui, Japhæ remanentes, conventiones servaverunt Soldano Damasci. *Marin. Sanut.* p. 216.

HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A.D. 1240.

Palestine, and took up his residence in the palace of the Hospital of Saint John at Acre. After remaining for some days inactive at that place, he proceeded with a small force of English pilgrims, knights, and foot-soldiers, to the camp of the Templars at Jaffa. The Hospitallers sought to induce the duke to respect their treaty with the sultan of Egypt, and the Templars required the same as regarded their truce or compact with the sultan of Damascus, so that it was impossible for the duke to fight without offending either the one or the other of the two orders. He accordingly declared that he should respect neither of the treaties, but make war upon the infidels wherever he found them.* But the force under his command was too small to undertake any extensive military operations, and he proposed to march with the two orders to Ascalon, and rebuild the fortifications of the castle at that place. The ruins of the city of Ascalon, however, were situate within the dominions of the sultan of Egypt, with whom the Hospitallers were at peace, and these last, consequently, refused to be a party to the expedition. The Templars, the earl of Cornwall, and the English pilgrims, accordingly marched without them to Ascalon; they re-constructed the castle and restored the fortifications to the state in which they were left by Richard Cœur de Lion, which being done, the earl returned with his followers to Acre.

The fortification of the castle of Ascalon was the only exploit performed by him in the Holy Land, and immediately after its

* Li Templiers le tindrent mult prés qu'il se tenist en la treve et as covenances de soudan de Damas, et qu'il la tenist. Li Ospitaliers le prierent qu'il se tenist al la treve du soudan de Babylone, dont il ne vout faire ni l'un ni l'autre. *Tyr.* Contin. hist. col. 725.

accomplishment, he embarked and returned home in the ships that had brought him out.* HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1240.

The Templars remained at Ascalon, and strenuously exerted themselves to bring their treaty with the sultan of Damascus to a successful termination. To do this, it was necessary to obtain possession of their ancient fortress of Gaza, situate on the sea-coast of Palestine, about fifteen miles from Ascalon. This place was the frontier town of Palestine towards Egypt, and it commanded the line of communication between the two countries. An invading army from the south could approach Jerusalem only by way of Gaza, or by taking a long and tedious route through the desert of Arabia Petræa, to Karac, and from thence to Hebron, by the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. The want of water and forage presented an insuperable obstacle to the march of a large body of forces in any other direction. Gaza was consequently a place of vast importance, and was naturally considered the key of Palestine towards Egypt. Once in possession of this place, the Templars might safely advance upon Jerusalem.

Towards the close of autumn, they marched against it in conjunction with Saleh Ismael, sultan of Damascus, and speedily obtained possession of the dismantled fortifications. Large sums of money were expended in the re-construction of the walls of the castle, a strong garrison was established in the important post, and the Templars then marched joyfully upon Jerusalem.

The fortifications of the Holy City had been dismantled by Malek Kamel, at the period of the siege of Damietta, when alarmed at the

* Et fu li chastiaus fermés en la manière que le roi Richart, l'oncle de cestui Richart, l'avoit fermé. Quant il ot ce fait, il s'en retorna en Acre, et loa sa nef; et s'en ala en son pais. Ib. col. 725.

HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A.D. 1240.

military success of the Franks in Egypt, he was anxious to purchase the safety of the country by the cession of Jerusalem. The Templars, consequently, entered the Holy City without difficulty or resistance; the Mussulman population abandoned their dwellings on their approach, and the military friars once more entered the city of David, bare-footed and bare-headed, singing loud hymns and songs of triumph. They rushed to the church of the Resurrection, and fell prostrate on their knees before the shrine of the Holy Sepulchre; they ascended Mount Calvary, and visited the reputed scene of the crucifixion, and then hastened in martial array, and with sound of trumpet, through the forlorn and deserted streets of the city of Zion, to take possession of their ancient quarters on Mount Moriah.

The golden crescent was once more removed from the lofty pinnacle of the Temple of the Lord, or mosque of Omar, and the Holy Mussulman house of prayer was once again surmounted by the glittering cross. The Temple of Solomon* was again purified and re-consecrated, and its sombre halls and spacious areas were once more graced with the white, religious, and military habit of the knights of the Temple. The greater part of the old convent, adjoining the Temple, had been destroyed, as before mentioned, by the great Saladin, and the military friars were consequently obliged to pitch numerous tents in the spacious area for the accommodation of the brethren. The sound of the bell once more superseded the voice of the Muezzin, "the exiled faith returned to its ancient sanctuary," and the name of JESUS was again invoked in the high places and sanctuaries of *Mahomet*. The great court of the Mussulmen around the revered mosque of Omar, called by them *El Scham Schereef*, "the noble retirement," again rung with the tramp of the

* See ante, chap. 1.

war-steed, and its solitudes were once more awakened with the voice of the trumpet.* HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1241.

Nothing could exceed the joy with which the intelligence of the re-occupation of Jerusalem was received throughout Palestine, and through all Christendom. The Hospitallers, now that the policy of the Templars had been crowned with success, and that Jerusalem had been regained, no longer opposed the treaty with the sultan of Damascus, but hastened to co-operate with them for the preservation of the Holy City, which had been so happily and miraculously recovered. The patriarch returned to Jerusalem with all his clergy; the churches were re-consecrated, and the Templars and Hospitallers emptied their treasuries in rebuilding the walls.

The following account of these gratifying events was transmitted by Brother Hermann de Perigord to the Master of the Temple at London.

"Brother Hermann de Perigord, humble minister of the poor knights of the Temple, to his beloved brother in Christ Robert de Sandford, Preceptor in England, salvation through the Lord.

" Since it is our duty, whenever an opportunity offers, to make known to the brotherhood, by letters or by messengers, the state and prospects of the Holy Land, we hasten to inform you, that after our great successes against the sultan of Egypt, and Nasser, his supporter and abettor, the great persecutor of the Christians, whom we have unceasingly endeavoured with all our might to subdue, they

* *Djemal'eddeen* hist. *Michaud* extraits, p. 549. *Ibn Schunah*, ad ann. Hejir. 638, tells us that the surrender of Jerusalem was a source of intense grief to the Moslems, and that Saleh Ismael was induced to deliver the city to the Franks, to keep it out of the hands of Ayoub, sultan of Egypt.

HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1241.

were unwillingly compelled to treat with us concerning the establishment of a truce, promising us to restore to the followers of Jesus Christ all the territory on this side Jordan. We despatched certain of our brethren, noble and discreet personages, to Cairo, to have an interview with the sultan upon these matters. But the latter broke the promise which he had made to us, retaining in his own hands Gaza, St. Abraham, Naplous, Varan, and other places; he detained our messengers in custody for more than half a year, and endeavoured to amuse us with deceitful words and unmeaning propositions. But we, with the Divine assistance, were enabled to penetrate his craft and perfidy, and plainly saw that he had procured the truce with us that he might be enabled the more readily to subjugate to his cruel dominion the sultan of Damascus, and Nasser lord of Carac, and their territories; and then, when he had got possession of all the country surrounding our christian provinces, we plainly foresaw that he would break faith with us, after the custom of his unbelieving generation, and attack our poor Christianity on this side the sea, which in its present weak and feeble state would have been unable effectually to resist him.

"Having therefore deliberated, long and earnestly, upon these matters, we determined, with the advice of the bishops and some of the barons of the land, to break off at once with the sultan of Egypt, and enter into a treaty with the sultan of Damascus, and with Nasser lord of Carac, whereby all the country on this side Jordan, excepting St. Abraham, Naplous, and Bisan, has been surrendered to the christian worship; and, to the joy of angels and of men, the holy city of Jerusalem is now inhabited by Christians alone, all the Saracens being driven out. The holy places have been reconsecrated

and purified by the prelates of the churches, and in those spots where the name of the Lord has not been invoked for fifty-six years, now, blessed be God, the divine mysteries are daily celebrated. To all the sacred places there is again free access to the faithful in Christ, nor is it to be doubted but that in this happy and prosperous condition we might long remain, if our Eastern Christians would from henceforth live in greater concord and unanimity. But, alas! opposition and contradiction, arising from envy and hatred, have impeded our efforts in the promotion of these and other advantages for the land. With the exception of the prelates of the churches, and a few of the barons, who afford us all the assistance in their power, the entire burthen of its defence rests upon our house alone. With the assistance of the sultan of Damascus, and the lord of Carac, we have obtained possession of the city of Gaza, situate on the confines of the territory of Jerusalem and the territory of Egypt. And as this important place commands the entrance from the latter country into the Holy Land, we have, by vast exertions, and at an enormous expense, and after having incurred great risk and danger, put it into a state of defence. But we are afraid that God will take heavy vengeance for past ingratitude, by punishing those who have been careless, and indifferent, and rebellious in the prosecution of these matters.

HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1241.

"For the safeguard and preservation of the holy territory, we propose to erect a fortified castle near Jerusalem, which will enable us the more easily to retain possession of the country, and to protect it against all enemies. But indeed we can in nowise defend for any great length of time the places that we hold, against the power-

ful and crafty sultan of Egypt, unless Christ and his faithful followers extend to us an efficacious support."*

In considering the career of the Knights Templars in Palestine, one cannot but be struck with admiration at the successful retention, by a mere handful of gallant knights and their followers, of cities and territories which had with difficulty been conquered by the united armies of Christendom.

Although many vast and powerful armaments had left the ports of the western nations for Asia, subsequent to the crusade of Richard Cœur de Lion, yet very little real and effectual succour had been afforded to the Latin kingdom. After the dire experience derived from the first and second crusades, of the dangers and difficulties of the long land journey across the continents of Europe and Asia to Palestine, nearly all the armaments proceeded by sea, and the crusaders, consequently, having comparatively easy means of returning to Europe, no longer settled in the East. The great bulk of them returned in the ships that brought them out; their enthusiasm very generally speedily evaporated on their arrival in the depopulated and desolate land of Palestine; and thousands consoled themselves with the idea that they had accomplished their vow and won an everlasting crown of glory, by merely setting foot within the holy territory, without once crossing swords with the Mussulmen. So ill-timed, too, were the expeditions that many of the bravest of the European warriors arrived at a period of profound peace, when their services could not be brought into requisition without breaking through some solemn truce with the infidels, and they consequently forthwith re-

* *Matt. Par.* p. 615.

embarked in their ships and returned home in anger and discontent, gravely accusing both the Templars and Hospitallers of being allies of the infidels, and traitors to the christian cause.

The notorious abuses, too, which became gradually attendant upon the preaching of the crusades, were the means of intercepting a vast portion of the succour and subsidies intended for the defence of the Latin kingdom and the recovery of Jerusalem. The doctrine upheld by the pope and the clergy, for their own temporal advantage, that payments of money to support the expenses of the war were as effectual and meritorious in the sight of Heaven as personal services in the field, tended to keep at home a vast number of warm religious enthusiasts who would otherwise have rendered right good service in battle with the infidels; and the system of allowing those who had assumed the cross to compound with money for the non-fulfilment of their vow, led to a variety of corrupt practices which proved highly prejudicial to the cause of the cross.

Crowds of enthusiasts were induced, by the eloquence of itinerant preachers, to take an oath to march, sword in hand, to Palestine to drive the infidels from the Holy City; they were afterwards alarmed with real or exaggerated accounts of the dangers, and the difficulty of the enterprise, and were allowed to purchase a dispensation from their oath and an exemption from the fulfilment of the duty they had undertaken, by depositing money in the hands of the bishops and clergy, to be employed by them in procuring a substitute, or in satisfying the expenses of the expedition. This money, as we learn from the complaints of the Grand Master of the Temple to the pope, went to fill the pockets of the priests and replenish the papal treasury, and the corrupt practice, which soon became

notorious,* tended mightily to diminish the enthusiasm of Christendom in favour of the holy war.

A great many of those who, during the decline of the crusading fervour, actually performed the voyage to Palestine, were mere military adventurers, men destitute of all genuine religious enthusiasm, who connected themselves with the expedition from a mere love of change, or from a desire of glory, or from hopes of rich booty and valuable prizes; and some were lured to the far East by the pieces of gold frequently offered by the European sovereigns and their chieftains, to those who joined their standard. Another great portion of the armies of the cross consisted of undisciplined volunteers, men who came and went as they pleased, fought when and where they chose; and, not being inured to the climate and the hardships of a military life, soon grew tired of a campaign, under the burning sun of Syria, and preferred the luxurious indolence of the maritime towns to the dangers and distresses of active warfare in the field.

All the expeditions, consequently, which left Europe with so much "pomp and circumstance," for the recovery of the Holy City, ended in complete and total failure.

The strong contrast between the trained and well-ordered soldiers of the Temple, and the rude disordered throng of the crusaders, attracted the admiration and astonishment of eye witnesses, and won, at different periods, for the military friars, high praise and encomium.† Bound together by a vow of implicit obedience to their superiors, the Templars maintained a discipline which no body of forces in those times could approach. Constantly trained to

* *Matt. Par. Marin. Sanutus* passim.

† Hist. Orient. apud *Martene* Thesaur. nov. anecdot, tom. 3, col. 276, 277. *Odo de Diog.* p. 76.

arms, inured to the climate, and experienced in the warfare of the country, they were the mainstay and support of the raw levies from the west, and were the firmest bulwarks of the christian cause in the Holy Land.

But it was not solely upon the distant theatre of the far East, nor upon the sacred soil of Palestine alone, that the discipline and the valour of the Templars were made available for the preservation and protection of the christian faith. Europe owes to them a debt of gratitude for their exertions in Hungary against the wild hordes of the unbelieving Tartars, and in Spain and Portugal against the fierce and sanguinary tribes of the infidel Moors. Their exploits in those lands, under the command of their Grand Preceptors, many of whom fell valiantly in defence of the faith, are gratefully recorded by cotemporary historians, and won for the brave military friars the approbation and the favour of the different christian monarchs and princes who were witnesses of their prowess. I should be undertaking a work of too great magnitude were I to devote myself to the investigation of the history of the Hungarian and Spanish provinces of the order of the Temple, but I may shortly mention, that in the great battle fought in Hungary in the year 1241, when the Moguls crossed the Danube on the ice, the Grand Preceptor of Hungary and many valiant Knights Templars under his command, perished nobly in the field, after performing prodigies of valour. The Templars were in high favour with the sovereigns of the country, and were intrusted with the defence of several castles and strongholds in that distant land. Andrew the Second, king of Hungary, gave them the castle of Clissa, situate on the crest of a hill in Dalmatia, and the fortress of Urana, where he kept his treasure;* and

* Script. rer. Hungar. tom. 3, p. 571–576.

amongst the various houses and castles possessed by the Templars in Hungary, the following have been enumerated as the gift of the sovereigns and princes of the land. The castle of Béléhrad, the ruins of which place, situate on the summit of a rocky precipitous hill, still remain; Mount Mnich, in the province of Lipton, Blatnicza, Thurocz, Pilicz, and St. Mary the White, a celebrated place of pilgrimage, situate in the plain near the ancient Buda. These places, with various other possessions in Hungary, were given to the Templars to enable them to defend the country against the neighbouring infidels.*

At the commencement of the thirteenth century, the brethren of the Spanish provinces of the order of the Temple valiantly defended the fort of Azuda in the kingdom of Aragon, and the town of Tortosa, in Catalonia, from the assaults of the Moors; and the king, in admiration of their bravery, gave them both places to hold in perpetual sovereignty. Under the command of Brother Gomez Ramirez, Grand Preceptor of Castile, the Templars fought in the famous battle of Ubeda, (A. D. 1213,) and performed prodigies of valour, mainly contributing to the glorious victory of the Christians over the Moors; and shortly afterwards they covered themselves with glory in another great encounter, in which the Moors were utterly defeated and cut to pieces. Under the command of Brother Bernard de Campana, Preceptor of Aragon, they marched to the conquest of the Balearic isles; and on the last day of Decr., A. D. 1229, they entered the capital of Majorca sword in hand. Mahomet, the Moorish king, was taken prisoner, together with his son, a boy thirteen years of age, and the Templars obtained a large share in the new conquests. They commenced the erection of

* Notit. Hungariæ, tom. 2, p. 363, 579, 581; tom. 3, p. 173, 179.

a splendid Temple church in the island of Majorca, and received from the king of Aragon funds for the maintenance of fifty knights.* The Templars, under the command of Don Raimond Patoce, Grand Preceptor of Aragon and Catalonia, took part in the siege of Borriano, and received a great part of the place when it was surrendered to the Christians. They took the fort of Xucar from the Moors by storm; they joined the great expedition against the city of Valencia, and subsequently greatly distinguished themselves in the siege of Seville. Among the most distinguished of their knights in Spain were Brother William de Cardona, Preceptor of Aragon: Don Pedro Gomez, Preceptor of Portugal, who signalised his prowess on the banks of the Tagus; the Castellan of Emposta; and Martin Martinius, Preceptor of Castile and Navarre, who accompanied Don Alphonso in his expedition against the towns of Murcia.†

The provinces of the order of the Temple in Spain, Portugal, and Hungary, were exempt from the obligation of contributing to the defence of Palestine, as all their resources were employed in warfare with the Moors and Tartars. The chief house of the order consequently drew its succours for the holy land principally from England and from France.

After the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, the Templars obtained from the piety and esteem of the conquerors numerous houses and possessions in various parts of the Greek empire.

* Mariana, lib. ii. cap. 23. Indices rerum ab Arag. reg. gestarum, p. 75. L'art de verifier les dates, tom. 5, p. 550, 35.

† Indic. rer. ab Arag. gest. lib. ii. p. 79. *Bernard Gomez*, lib. ix. p. 461. lib. x. *Mariana*, lib. xii. cap. 19.

Amongst these were Ravennica in Thessaly, and the fortress of Siton; Philocali in the town of Thessalonica; the church of Santa Lucia without the walls of Thebes; the palace of Lajeran, the castle of Crisparis, and several places in Negropont. They possessed also Pasalan, which was given to the order by the prince of Achaia; Paliopolis, Affustan, and various other places, possessions, and estates in Roumelia.*

The privileges which the Templars transported with them into Greece soon gave umbrage to the Greek clergy. The bishop of Citonia furiously assaulted a chaplain of the Temple who was bearing the consecrated wafer to a sick brother, and the archbishop of Patras laid violent hands upon the property of the order within his province.†

The republic of Venice testified its gratitude to the Templars, and manifested a due appreciation of the value of their services by building for them at the public expense the magnificent church which now belongs to the confraternity of the Ascension. All the European sovereigns were benefactors to the order, and all the princes and nobles of Europe contributed at different periods to the wealth and power of the fraternity. Year by year their territorial possessions continued to increase through the pious donations of the faithful, and their treasuries to be replenished by alms-gifts, and charitable offerings. Among many hundreds of the continental princes and barons who were benefactors to the order, may be mentioned the count of Auxerre, the viscount de Bezieres and Carcassone, Philip, bishop of Bayeux, Thiebauld, duke of Lorraine,

* *Innocent*, epistolar, lib. xiii. p. 477, epist. 136, 137, 143—150.

† Ib. epist. 151, 155, necnon lib. xiv. epist. 3.

Radolph, lord of Couci, the countess of Montferrant, wife of the dauphin of France, the countess of Clermont, Eleanor, countess of St. Quentin, &c. &c.

The youthful Henry III., king of England, was one of the greatest of the benefactors of the order. He granted to the Templars the manors of Lilleston, Hechewayton, and Saunford, the wood of Carletone, Kingswood near Chippenham, a messuage, and six bovates of land with their appurtenances in Great Lymburgh; a fair at Walnesford, in the county of Essex, every three years for three days, to commence on the anniversary of the beheading of St. John the Baptist; also annual fairs and weekly markets at Newburgh, Walnesford, Balsall, Kirkeby, and a variety of other places;* he granted them free warren in all their demesne lands, and by his famous charter, dated the 9th day of February, in the eleventh year of his reign, he confirmed to them all the donations of his predecessors, and of their other benefactors, and conferred upon them vast privileges and immunities in the following pious and reverential terms.

"The king, &c., to all the archbishops, bishops, barons, &c. &c., to whom these presents shall come, salvation through the Lord. Be it known to you that we have granted and confirmed to God and the blessed Mary, and the brethren of the chivalry of the Temple of Solomon, all reasonable donations of lands, men, and eleemosynary gifts, bestowed on them by our predecessors, or by others in times past, or by ourselves at this present period, or which may be hereafter conferred on them by kings or by the liberality of subjects, or may be acquired, or be about to be

* *Dugd.* Monast. Angl. vol. 6, part ii.

acquired in any other manner, as well churches as worldly goods and possessions; wherefore we will and firmly command that the aforesaid brethren and their men may have and hold all their possessions and eleemosynary donations with all liberties and free customs and immunities, in wood and plain, in meadow and pasture, in water and water-mills, on highways and byeways, in ponds and running streams, in marshes and fisheries, in granges and broad acres, within burgh and without the burgh, with soc and sac, sol and theam, infangenethef and unfangenethef, and hamsoc and grithbrich, and blodwit and fictwit, and flictwit and ferdwite, and hengewite and lierwite, and flemenefrith, murder, robbery, forstall, ordel, oreste, in season and out of season, at all times and in all places, &c.

"We ordain, likewise, that the aforesaid brethren shall for ever hereafter be freed from royal aids, and sheriff's aids, and officer's aids, and from hidage and carucage, and danegeld and hornegeld, and from military and wapentake services, and scutages and lastages and stallages, shires and hundreds, pleas and quarrels, ward and wardpeny, and averpeni and hundredespeni, and borethalpeni and thethingepeni, and from the works of castles, parks, bridges, and inclosures; and from the duty of providing carriages and beasts of burthen, boats, and vessels, and from the building of royal houses, and all other works.

"And we prohibit all persons from taking timber from their woods and forests for such works, or for any other purposes whatever: neither shall their corn, nor the corn of their men, nor any of their goods, nor the goods of any belonging to them, be taken to fortify castles. We will also that they shall have free and full

liberty to cut and fell timber whenever they please, in all their woods, for the use of their fraternity, without any let or hindrance whatever; and for doing so they shall not incur forfeiture or waste, or in any way be punishable by law. And all their lands, and the ground which they or their men have cleared of wood, and recovered from the forest, or which they may clear in time to come, with the assent of the king, we make quit and free for ever hereafter from waste, regard, and view of foresters, and from all other customs. And we concede also to the aforesaid brethren the privilege of cutting down trees in all the woods they possess at present within the forest boundaries, and of clearing and bringing the land into cultivation without any license from our bailiffs, so that they may never at any time hereafter be in any way called to account by ourselves, or our heirs, or any of our bailiffs.

"We ordain, moreover, that the aforesaid brethren and their men shall be quit and free from every kind of toll in all markets and fairs, and upon crossing bridges, roads, and ferries, throughout the whole of our kingdom, and throughout all lands in which we are able to grant liberties; and all their markets, and the markets of their men, shall in like manner be quit and free from all toll.

"We grant and confirm also to the aforesaid brethren, that if any of their men be condemned to lose life or limb for crime, or shall have fled from justice, or have committed any offence for which he hath incurred forfeiture of his goods and chattels, the goods and chattels so forfeited shall belong to the aforesaid brethren, whether the cognizance of the offence belongeth to our court or to any other inferior court; and it shall be lawful for the aforesaid brethren,

under such circumstances and in such cases, to put themselves in possession of the aforesaid goods and chattels at such time as our bailiffs would or ought to have seized them into our hands, had such goods and chattels belonged to ourselves, without the molestation or hindrance of the sheriffs or bailiffs, or any other persons whatever.

" We concede also to the aforesaid brethren, that animals called *waif*, lost by their owners, and found within the feud of the Templars, shall belong to the aforesaid brethren, unless they are followed by some one able and willing to prove that they are his own, and unless they shall be sought after and taken possession of by the owner within a moderate period of time, according to the custom of the country.

" And if any of the tenants of the aforesaid brethren shall happen to have incurred a forfeiture of his feud, it shall be lawful for the said brethren to take possession of the said feud, and hold the same, notwithstanding the law which concedes to ourselves the possession of the feud of fugitives and criminals, for the space of a year and a day. In like manner, if any of the men of the aforesaid brethren shall have incurred a fine to be paid to ourselves or to any of our bailiffs, under any process, or for any crime, or any other matter, the amercements of money shall be collected and brought in a purse to our exchequer, and there handed over to the aforesaid brethren; judgment of death and limb being always reserved to the royal authority.

" We moreover ordain, that if any of the liberties and privileges contained in this our charter shall happen to have been disused for a length of time, such disuse shall in no respect prejudice the

right, but such liberty or privilege may be again exercised without contradiction, notwithstanding that it may have been discontinued and disused as aforesaid. And all the aforesaid things, and all other secular services and customs which are not included in this present writing, we, through love of God, and for the good of the soul of the lord king John, our father, and for the good of the souls of all our predecessors and successors, grant and confirm to them, as a perpetual alms-gift, with all liberties and free customs, as fully, freely, and effectually as the royal power can confer them upon any religious house. And we prohibit all persons, on pain of forfeiture, from proceeding against them or their men contrary to this our charter, for we have taken the aforesaid brethren, and all their goods, and possessions, and all their men, under our especial guardianship and protection. As witness the king, at Westminster, the 9th day of February, in the eleventh year of our reign." *

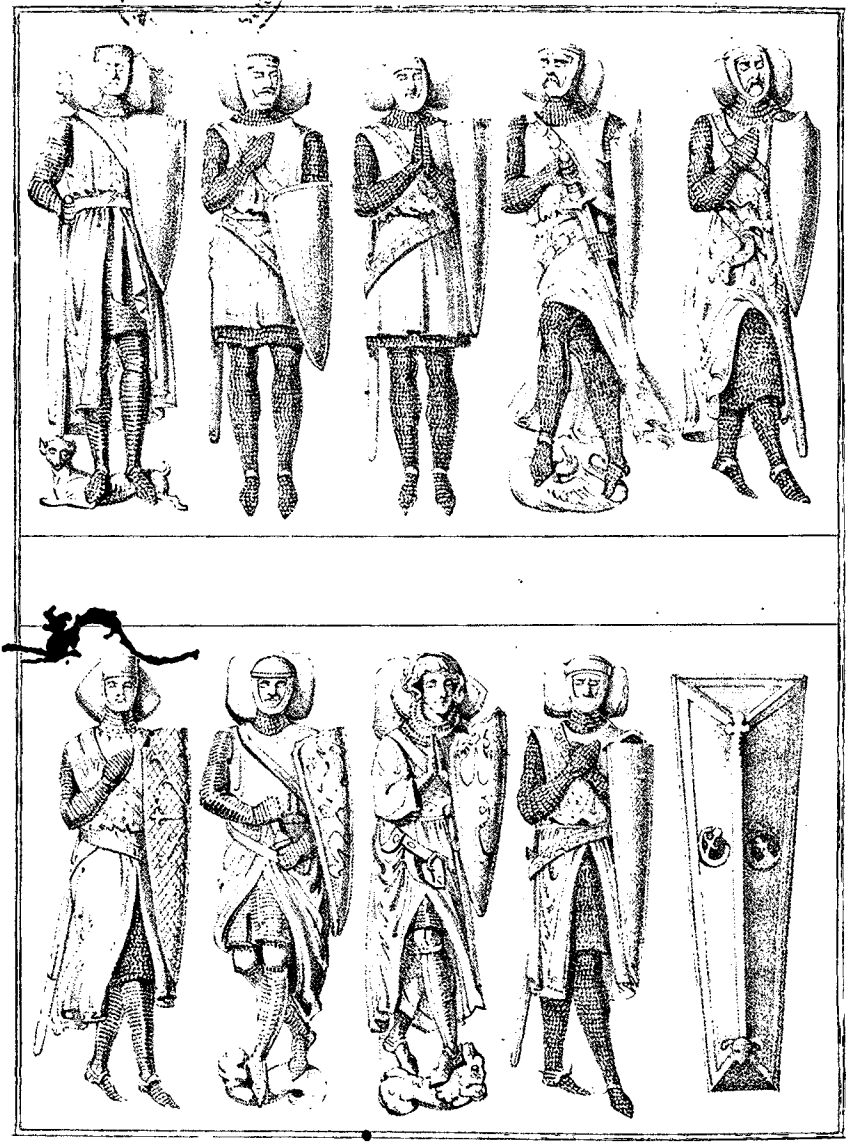
As many of the Saxon words used above may be unintelligible to the modern reader, it will be as well to explain the nature of some of the powers and privileges conceded to the Templars by this famous charter.

By the royal grant of *soc* and *sac*, *tol* and *theam*, &c. &c., the Templars were clothed with the power of holding courts to impose and levy fines and amerciaments upon their tenants, to judge and punish their villeins and vassals—to take cognizance of quarrels and controversies that arose amongst them—to try thieves and malefactors belonging to their manors, and all foreign thieves taken within the precincts thereof—to try and punish trespasses and

* Cart. 11, *Hen.* 3, m. 33. *Dugd.* Monast. Angl. vol. 6, part 2, p. 844.

breaches of the peace, and all unlawful entries into the houses of their tenants—to impose and levy amerciaments for cutting and maiming, and for bloodshed—to judge and punish by fine or imprisonment the seducers of their bondwomen, and all persons who committed adultery and fornication within their manors. They had the power of trying criminals by ordeal, or the terrible test of fire and water; and they had, lastly, the tremendous privilege of pit and gallows, i. e. the power of putting convicted thieves to death, by hanging them if they were men, and drowning them if they were women!* By the royal charter, the Templars were, in the next place, freed from the fine of right payable to the king for the hanging of thieves without a formal trial and judgment according to law; they were exempted from the taxes on pasture-lands, and plough-lands, and horned cattle; from the Danish tribute, and

* Et quod ad *furcas* dicit (Magister Templi) quod clamat eas habere apud Suthkave, &c., de dono Rogeri de Moubray, et Willielmi de Moubray, qui quidem Rogerus et Willielmus, et eorum antecessores habuerunt furcas in eodem manerio a tempore Conquestus. Et præterea dicit, quod prædictus Dominus Rex concessit eis, per cartam prædictam, *infangenthef* et *unfangenthef*, et per hoc licitum est ei habere *furcas*. *Plac. de Quo Warantro* temp. Edw. 1, rot. 4, d. p. 191. "*Furca et fossa* in antiquis privilegiis significant jurisdictionem puniendi fures; scil viros suspendio, fœminas submersione. Proferam ergo e monumentis Roffensis ecclesiæ, tempore Gilberti, qui floruit sub Richardo I. (id est A. D. 1200) submersionis exemplum celebre; ut in curia ejusdem episcopi apud Suffliet erat recognitum. '*Item duæ mulieres venerunt in villam de Sufflicte, quæ furatæ fuerunt multos pannos in villa de Croyndone, et secuti sunt eas homines ejusdem villæ de Croyndone, quorum pannos furtivè asportaverunt, usque in villam de Sufflicte, et ibi captæ fuerunt, et incarceratæ, et habuerunt judicium suum in curiâ de Sufflicte, ad portandum calidum ferrum, quarum, una fuit salva, et altera damnata, unde submersa fuit in Bikepole.* *Spelman*, Gloss. p. 251. We have some reason to congratulate ourselves upon the altered state of the law, and upon our escape from the atrocious barbarism of the middle ages.



J. Brandard, lith.

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MONUMENTAL EFFIGIES IN THE TEMPLE CHURCH.

from all military services, and from all the ordinary feudal burthens and imposts.

King Henry III. loaded the Templars with favour and distinction during the whole course of his long reign. He constantly employed them in places of trust, and in the conduct of important negotiations. On Ascension day, A. D. 1240, he came with all his court to the consecration of the nave, or oblong portion of the Temple church at London, and made provision for the maintenance in the Temple of three chaplains, who were to say three masses daily for ever, one for the king himself, another for all christian people, and the third for the faithful departed.*

During the period that elapsed between the consecration of the round part of the Temple church, by the patriarch Heraclius, just before the fall of Jerusalem, and the completion and dedication of the oblong portion of the venerable structure, shortly after the recovery of the Holy City, the Templars continued to be the constant objects of the bounty of our pious forefathers, and to be loaded with numerous donations of land and money by the nobility and gentry of England. Amongst the many hundreds of deeds and grants to the order of the Temple preserved in the different libraries and collections of manuscripts in this country, the following may perhaps be read with interest, as curious memorials of the piety and religious enthusiasm of past times.

"To all the sons of holy mother church, present and to come, William of Breous, lord of the honor of Brembre and Gouher, salvation through the Lord. We have inspected the deeds of the lady Margaret, formerly countess of Warwick, couched in the fol-

* Post. chap. xii.

lowing terms. Margaret, countess of Warwick, to William, earl of Warwick, and to all the barons of that honor, and to all the barons of Gouher, salvation. Be it known to you that I have granted to God, and the church of Saint Mary of the knights of the Temple of Jerusalem, commonly called the Temple of Solomon of Jerusalem, the town of Lammadoc, with all its appurtenances in wood and plain and water, and along ways and over ways, with the assent of my son Henry, who is heir thereto. . . . ." *

" Be it known to all who may inspect this present writing, that I, Hauwisia of Grantevil of Scheltone, being in my lawful widowhood, have given and granted, and by this my writing have confirmed, to God and the blessed Mary, and the brethren of the chivalry of the Temple residing at Temple Neusom, one bovate of my land, with the toft and all its appurtenances, in the town and territory of Scheltone, for the support and sustentation of the lights in the chapel of the blessed Virgin Mary of the Temple at that place, &c. &c."

" Philip of Harecourt, dean of Lincoln, to all the faithful salvation. Be it known and made certain to all the sons of holy mother church now enjoying this present life, and to all who shall come after us, that I, Philip, dean of Lincoln, being moved by the Holy Ghost, and by the words of the Gospel which saith, '*Render unto Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's, and unto God the things which be God's,*' do, by this present deed and writing, give and grant to God, and the blessed Virgin Mary, and to the knights of the Temple of Solomon, as a perpetual alm's gift, a certain portion of the worldly goods which God hath given me to possess in this

* Ex cod. MS. in bib. *Cotton.* Vitellius. F. I.

present life, that is to say, the land of Hesehapebeia, with all its appurtenances, and the church of the same town, &c. &c. This donation I make for the salvation of my own soul, and the souls of all my ancestors. As witness, Hugh of Cumbe, the earl Simon, Tustin, brother of the Temple, &c. &c." *

"Thomas of Santford, son of Thomas of Santford, to all the faithful of Christ to whom this present writing shall come, salvation through the Lord. Be it known to the whole of you that I, from feelings of devout piety, and for the salvation of my own soul, and the souls of my father and my mother, and all my ancestors and successors, have given and granted, and by this my present deed have confirmed, to God and the blessed Mary, and to the brethren, knights of the Temple, for the defence of the Holy Land, and for the maintenance of one chaplain, who shall for ever celebrate mass in the chapel of the preceptory of the Temple of Bistelesham for the souls of all the faithful departed, all my land at Sauntford, with the advowson of the church of Blebyry, &c. &c., to be holden for ever by them in pure, free, and perpetual frankalmoign tenure. As witness the lord of Nevil, the lord Richard of the Tower, the lord John of Plesiz, the lord Stephen of Harnehull, the lord of Helesfield, the lord Geoffrey of Stockwell, &c. &c." †

All the numerous pious and charitable grants made in England to the Templars, are couched in terms very similar to those used above. Such are the grants, by earl Simon, of the churches of Southwicke and Wodemancote; by Henry del Alney, of the chapel and estate of Sibbeford; by the bishop of Bath, of the church of

* Ex registr. Hosp. S. Joh. Bib. *Cotton.* fol. 137 a.

† Ex cod. vet. MS. penes *Anton. Wood.* Oxon. fol. 2, b.

Lumtinge, &c. &c.; and the grants of the earls of Northampton, Leicester, Cornwallis, Essex, Chester, Oxford, Hereford, &c.; the countesses of Winchester, Clare, Gloucester, &c., and the archbishop of York.*

* *Dugd.* Monast. Ang. vol. 6, part 2, p. 818—844.

## CHAPTER VIII.

The conquest of Jerusalem by the Carizmians—The slaughter of the Templars, and the death of the Grand Master—The exploits of the Templars in Egypt—King Louis of France visits the Templars in Palestine—He assists them in putting the country into a defensible state—Henry II., king of England, visits the Temple at Paris—The magnificent hospitality of the Templars in England and France—Bonocdar, sultan of Egypt, invades Palestine—He defeats the Templars, takes their strong fortresses, and decapitates six hundred of their brethren—The Grand Master comes to England for succour—The renewal of the war—The fall of Acre, and the final extinction of the Templars in Palestine.

"The Knights of the TEMPLE ever maintained their fearless and fanatic character; if they neglected to *live*, they were prepared to *die* in the service of Christ."—*Gibbon.*

SHORTLY after the recovery of the holy city, Djemal'eddeen, the Mussulman, paid a visit to Jerusalem. "I saw," says he, "the monks and the priests masters of the Temple of the Lord. I saw the vials of wine prepared for the sacrifice. I entered into the Mosque Al Acsa, (the Temple of Solomon,) and I saw a bell suspended from the dome. The rites and ceremonies of the Mussulmen were abolished; the call to prayer was no longer heard. The infidels publicly exercised their idolatrous practices in the sanctuaries of the Mussulmen. The day that I left the holy city, Malek Nasser Daoud made his entry into Jerusalem. I did not present

HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1242.

HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1242.

myself before him, for I feared that he would prevent me from continuing my journey to Egypt. On my arrival at Gaza, I found the advanced guard of Saleh Ismael, sultan of Damascus, encamped there." *

By the advice of Benedict, bishop of Marseilles, who came to the holy city on a pilgrimage, the Templars rebuilt their ancient and once formidable castle of Saphet, the dilapidated ruins of which had been ceded to them by their recent treaty with Saleh Ismael. During a pilgrimage to the lake of Tiberias and the banks of the Jordan, the bishop of Marseilles had halted at Saphet, and spent a night amid the ruins of the ancient castle, where he found a solitary Knight Templar keeping watch in a miserable hovel. Struck with the position of the place, and its importance in a military point of view, he sought on his return to Acre the honour of an interview with the Grand Master of the Temple, and urged him to restore the castle of Saphet to its pristine condition. The bishop was invited to attend a general chapter of the order of the Temple, when the matter was discussed, and it was unanimously determined that the mountain of Saphet should immediately be refortified. The bishop himself laid the first stone, and animated the workmen by a spirited oration. Eight hundred and fifty masons and artificers, and four hundred slaves, were employed in the task. During the first thirty months after the commencement of operations, the Templars expended eleven thousand golden byzants upon the works, and in succeeding years they spent upwards of forty thousand. The walls, when finished, were sixty *French* feet in width, one hundred and seventy in height, and the

* *Djemal'eddeen*, ad ann. Hejir. 841. *Michaud* Extraits Arabes, p. 549.

circuit of them was two thousand two hundred and fifty feet. They were flanked by seven large round towers, sixty feet in diameter, and seventy-two feet higher than the walls. The fosse surrounding the fortress was thirty-six feet wide, and was pierced in the solid rock to a depth of forty-three feet. The garrison in time of peace amounted to one thousand seven hundred men, and to two thousand two hundred in time of war. Twelve thousand mule loads of corn and barley were consumed annually within the walls of the fortress; and in addition to all the ordinary expenses and requirements of the establishment, the Templars maintained a well-furnished table and excellent accommodation for all way-worn pilgrims and travellers. "The generous expenditure of the Templars at this place," says a cotemporary historian, "renders them truly worthy of the liberality and largesses of the faithful." *

HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1242.

The ruins of this famous castle, crowning the summit of a lofty mountain, torn and shattered by earthquakes, still present a stupendous appearance. In Pococke's time "two particularly fine large round towers" were entire, and Van Egmont and Heyman give the following account of the condition of the once stupendous fortress at the period of their visit.

"The next place that engaged our attention was the citadel, which is the greatest object of curiosity in Saphet, and is generally considered one of the most ancient structures remaining in the country. In order to form some idea of this fortification in its present state, imagine a lofty mountain, and on its summit a round castle, with walls of incredible thickness, and with a *corridor* or covered passage extending round the walls, and ascended by a

* *Steph. Baluz*, Miscell. lib vi. p. 357, de constructione Castri SAPHET.

HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1242.

winding staircase. The thickness of the walls and corridor together was twenty paces. The whole was of hewn stone, and some of the stones are eight or nine spans in length. . . . . This castle was anciently surrounded with stupendous works, as appears from the remains of two moats lined with free-stone, several fragments of walls, bulwarks, towers, &c., all very solid and strongly built; and below these moats other massive works, having corridors round them in the same manner as the castle; so that any person, on surveying these fortifications, may wonder how so strong a fortress could ever be taken."

Amongst the various interesting remains of this castle, these intelligent travellers describe "a large structure of free-stone in the form of a cupola or dome. The stones, which are almost white, are of astonishing magnitude, some being twelve spans in length and five in thickness. The inside is full of niches for placing statues, and near each niche is a small cell. An open colonnade extends quite round the building, and, like the rest of the structure, is very massive and compact."*

As soon as the sultan of Egypt had been informed of the march of the Templars to Jerusalem, and of the re-possession by the military friars of the holy places and sanctuaries of the Mussulmen, he sent an army of several thousand men across the desert, to drive them out of the Holy City before they had time to repair the fortifications and re-construct the walls. The Templars assembled all their forces and advanced to meet the Egyptians. They occupied the passes and defiles of the hill country leading to Jerusalem, and gained a glorious victory over the enemies of the cross. The

* *Conder's* Modern Traveller.—Palestine, p. 335, 337—339.

Egyptians were cut to pieces or driven into the desert, and the Christians rejoiced in a miraculous deliverance from the avenging sword of the prophet.* HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1243.

Many christian families and religious orders of monks and nuns now returned to Jerusalem, confidence became gradually restored, the deserted city was once more thronged with a christian population, and the churches were again filled with devout worshippers.

Pope Innocent IV., who had just been chosen by the college of cardinals to fill the pontifical chair vacated by the death of Pope Gregory, hastened to testify his sense of the services of the Templars by confirming all their ancient privileges, and conferring upon them additional favours and exemptions. One of his first acts of pontifical authority was the execution of a papal bull, ordaining that the Templars should in no case be cited before the ordinaries, neither in respect of ecclesiastical causes, nor matters of contract, nor any of the subjects of controversy ordinarily cognizable in the ecclesiastical courts.†

I have omitted to mention in its proper place, the valiant attack by the Templars on the Turcomans, related by the Arabian historian Ibn Alatsyr. He tells us, that a troop of Turcomans of the territory of Aleppo had seized a Templar of Antioch, and killed him. The Grand Preceptor of that province immediately assembled his brethren, entered the territory of Aleppo, defeated the Turcomans

* Anno quoque sub eodem Templarii in Terrâ Sanctâ de multis millibus Saracenorum a Babyloniorum partibus transmissorum, plus miraculose, quam humanâ fortitudine, inopinabili victoriâ gloriose triumpharunt.—*Matt. Par.* p. 585. *Rainald*, ad ann. 1242.

† Reg. et constit. ord. Cisterc. p. 480.

HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1243.

in a pitched battle, and returned to Antioch with many prisoners and an immense booty.*

Ayoub, sultan of Egypt, finding himself unable to resist the formidable alliance of the Franks with Saleh Ismael and Nasser Daoud, lord of Carac, called in to his assistance the fierce pastoral tribes of the Carizmians. These were a warlike race of people, who had been driven from their abodes, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian, by the successful arms of the Moguls, and had rushed headlong upon the weak and effeminate nations of the south. They had devastated and laid waste Armenia and the north-western parts of Persia, cutting off by the sword, or dragging away into captivity, all who had ventured to oppose their progress. For years past they had been leading a migratory, wandering life, exhausting the resources of one district, and then passing onwards into another, without making any fixed settlement, or having any regular places of abode, and their destructive progress has been compared by the Arabian writers to the wasting tempest or the terrible inundation. The rude hardships of their roving life had endowed them with a passive endurance which enabled them to surmount all obstacles, and to overcome every difficulty. No inclemency of season, no winter's snow, nor mountain precipice, nor deep river, could arrest their march. Their clothing consisted of a solitary sheep's skin, or a wolf's skin, tied around their loins; boiled herbs and some water, or a little milk, sufficed them for food and beverage; their arms were the bow and the lance; and they shed the blood of their fellow-creatures as profusely as water, and with the same indifference as they would that

* *Ibn. Alat.* ut sup. p. 546.

of the beasts of the field. Their wives and their children accompanied their march, braving all dangers and fatigues; their tents were their homes, and the site of their encampment their only country. HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1244.

Nothing could exceed the terror inspired in Armenia and Persia by the military expeditions of these rude and ferocious shepherds of the Caspian, who were the foes of all races and of all people, and manifested a profound indifference for every religion.

The Carizmians were encamped on the left bank of the Euphrates, pasturing their cavalry in the neighbouring plains, when their chief, Barbeh Khan, received a deputation from the sultan of Egypt, inviting their co-operation and assistance in the reduction of Palestine. Their cupidity was awakened by an exaggerated account of the fertility and the wealth of the land, and they were offered a settlement in the country as soon as it was rescued from the hands of the Franks. The messengers displayed the written letters of the sultan of Egypt; they presented to the Carizmian chief some rich shawls and magnificent presents, and returned to their master at Grand Cairo with promises of speedy support.

The Carizmians assembled together in a body; they crossed the Euphrates in small leathern boats, ravaged the territories of the sultan of Aleppo, and marched up the plain of the Orontes to Hems, wasting all the country around them with fire and the sword. But their progress was encumbered by a vast quantity of booty, and by the number of their captives. Saleh Ismael, hearing of their approach, broke up his encampment at Gaza, and retreated in all haste to Damascus, and Nasser Daoud immediately set out for his strong city of Carac, and shut himself up in that place with a nume-

HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1244.

rous garrison.* The intelligence of these events reached the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital when they were busily engaged in re-building the vast and extensive fortifications of the Holy City. The chapters of the two orders, and the patriarch, and the bishops, had a solemn consultation together; they determined that Jerusalem was untenable, and that the Holy City must once again be abandoned to the infidels.

The Hospitallers in their black mantles, and the Templars in their white habits, were drawn up in martial array in the streets of Jerusalem, and the weeping Christians were exhorted once again to leave their homes and avail themselves of the escort and protection of the military friars to Jaffa. Many gathered together their little property and quitted the devoted city, and many lingered behind amid the scenes they had so long loved and cherished. Soon, however, frightful reports reached Jerusalem of the horrors of the Carizmian invasion, and the fugitives, who had fled with terror and astonishment from their destructive progress, spread alarm and consternation throughout the whole land.†

More than six thousand Christians, who had remained behind at Jerusalem, now attempted to make their escape, with their wives and children, through the mountains to the plain of Ramleh and the sea-coast, relying on the truce and treaty of alliance which had been established with Nasser Daoud, lord of Carac, and the mountaineers. But the inhabitants of the mountain region being a set of lawless robbers and plunderers, attacked and pillaged them. Some were

* *Ibn. Alat.* p. 558.

† Il i ont occis que homes, que fames, que enfans plus de trent mille; car il n'en prenoit nul vif, ains occioit tout.—*Tyr.* Contin. hist. col. 728.

slain, and others were dragged away into captivity. A few fled back to Jerusalem, and the residue, after having been hunted through the mountains, descended into the plain of Ramleh, where they were attacked by the Carizmians, and only three hundred out of the whole number succeeded in reaching Jaffa in safety. All the women and children had been taken captive in the mountains, and amongst them were several holy nuns, who were sent to Egypt and sold in the common slave-markets.* HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1244.

The Carizmians had advanced into the plain of Ramleh by way of Baalbec, Tiberias, and Naplous, and they now directed their footsteps towards Jerusalem. They entered the Holy City sword in hand, massacred the few remaining Christians in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, pillaged the town, and rifled the tombs of the kings for treasure. They then marched upon Gaza, stormed the city, and put the garrison to the sword, after which they sent messengers across the desert to the sultan of Egypt to announce their arrival. Ayoub immediately sent a robe of honour and sumptuous gifts to their chief, and despatched his army from Cairo in all haste, under the command of Rokmeddin Bibars, one of his principal mamlooks, to join them before Gaza.†

The Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital, on the other hand, collected their forces together, and made a junction with the troops of the sultan of Damascus and the lord of Carac. They marched upon Gaza, attacked the united armies of the Egyptians and Carizmians, and were exterminated in a bloody battle of two days' continuance. The Grand Master of the Temple and the

* *Matt. Par.* p. 631, 632.

† *Michaud*, p. 551.

HERMANN DE PERIGORD. A. D. 1244.

flower of his chivalry perished in that bloody encounter, and the Grand Master of the Hospital was taken prisoner, and led away into captivity. Three hundred and twelve Knights Templars, and three hundred and twenty-four serving brethren, with several thousand hired soldiers in the pay of the order, were slain in the terrible fight.*

The united armies of the Carizmians and Egyptians then laid siege to the castle of Ascalon, and planted their balistæ and catapults around the walls, but the place was garrisoned by the Knights Hospitallers of St. John, who drove back the enemy with frightful carnage in every assault, and successfully defended the place against all their attacks.† The infidels abandoned the siege in despair, and then spread themselves throughout the land of Palestine, destroying and pillaging all the country.

The government of the order of the Temple, in consequence of the death of the Grand Master, temporarily devolved upon the Knight Templar, Brother William de Rochefort, who immediately despatched, in conjunction with the patriarch and the bishops, the following melancholy letter to the pope and the archbishop of Canterbury. "To the reverend Father in Christ, and to all our friends, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other prelates of the church in the kingdoms of France and England, to whom these letters shall come;—Robert, by the grace of God, patriarch of the holy church of Jerusalem; Henry, archbishop of Nazareth; J. elect of Cæsarea; R. bishop of Acre; *William de Rochefort, Vice-Master of the house*

* *Marin. Sanut.* p. 217.

† *Tyr.* Contin. hist. col. 731, 732. *Makrizi*, hist. of the Mamlooks, ad ann. Hejir. 642. *Michaud* Extraits, 718.

*of the chivalry of the* TEMPLE, *and of the convent of the same house;* A. D. 1244.
H. prior of the sepulchre of the Lord; B. of the Mount of Olives, &c. &c. Health and prosperity.

"The cruel barbarian, issuing forth from the confines of the East, hath turned his footsteps towards the kingdom of Jerusalem, that holy land, which, though it hath at different periods been grievously harassed by the Saracen tribes, hath yet, in these latter days, enjoyed ease and tranquillity, and been at peace with the neighbouring nations. But, alas! the sins of our christian people have just now raised up for its destruction an unknown people, and an avenging sword from afar. . . . ."

They proceed to state, that the Carizmians having been driven from their natural abodes "like dragons from their dens," by the terrible career of Tartar conquest in the East, were looking about for some place of settlement and habitation amongst the neighbouring nations, when the sultan of Egypt, the great persecutor of the faith of Christ, though denying the barbarians a refuge within his own dominions, had freely invited them to take possession of the territories of others, urging them to subdue and people the sacred land of promise, which the Most High had granted to be possessed by those who believed in him.

"These savages," say they, "relying upon the promises and exhortations of the sultan, marched towards the heritage of the Lord with their wives and families, and with many thousand armed horsemen, and so sudden and rapid has been their progress, that neither we ourselves, nor any of our neighbours, have had time to take effectual measures to resist them. They entered the kingdom of Jerusalem by the side of Saphet and Tiberias, and overran all the

A. D. 1244. country without opposition, from Thoron of the knights to Gaza. By the common advice, and the unanimous desire, of the Masters of the religious houses of the chivalry of the Temple and the Hospital, we called in the assistance of the sultans of Damascus and Carac, who were bound to us by treaty, and bore especial hatred to the Carizmians; they promised, and solemnly swore, to give us their entire aid, but the succour came slow and tardy; the christian forces were few in number, and were compelled to abandon the defence of Jerusalem."

After detailing the dispersion of the christian fugitives amongst the mountains, and the barbarous and horrible slaughter of men, women, children, monks, priests, and nuns, in the plain of Ramleh, they thus continue their simple and affecting narrative.

"At length, the before-mentioned perfidious savages, having penetrated within the gates of the holy city of Israel, the small remnant of the faithful left therein, consisting of children, women, and old men, took refuge in the church of the sepulchre of our Lord. The Carizmians rushed to that holy sanctuary; they butchered them all before the very sepulchre itself, and cutting off the heads of the priests who were kneeling with uplifted hands before the altars, they said one to another, 'Let us here shed the blood of the Christians *on the very place where they offer up wine to their* GOD, *who they say was hanged here.*' Moreover, in sorrow be it spoken, and with sighs we inform you, that laying their sacrilegious hands on the very sepulchre itself, they sadly disturbed it, utterly battering to pieces the marble shrine which was built around that holy sanctuary. They have defiled, with every abomination of which they were capable, Mount Calvary, where Christ was crucified, and the

whole church of the resurrection. They have taken away, indeed, the sculptured columns which were placed aa s decoration before the sepulchre of the Lord; and, as a mark of victory, and as a taunt to the Christians, they have sent them to the sepulchre of the wicked Mahomet. They have violated the tombs of the happy kings of Jerusalem in the same church, and they have scattered, to the hurt of Christendom, the ashes of those holy men to the winds, irreverently profaning the revered Mount Sion. The Temple of the Lord, the church of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where the Virgin lies buried, the church of Bethlehem, and the place of the nativity of our Lord, they have polluted with enormities too horrible to be related, far exceeding the iniquity of all the Saracens, who, though they frequently occupied the land of the Christians, yet always reverenced and preserved the holy places . . . . . " 1244. A. D.

They then describe the subsequent military operations, the march of the Templars and Hospitallers, on the 4th of October, A. D. 1244, from Acre to Cæsarea; the junction of their forces with those of the Moslem sultans; the retreat of the Carizmians to Gaza, where they received succour from the sultan of Egypt; and the preparation of the Hospitallers and Templars for the attack before that place.

"Those holy warriors," say they, "boldly rushed in upon the enemy, but the Saracens who had joined us, having lost many of their men, fled, and the warriors of the cross were left alone to withstand the united attack of the Egyptians and Carizmians.*

* The Oriental historians also state, that after the flight of the Moslems, the Templars and Hospitallers rallied and stood their ground with the utmost firmness, until they were all killed or taken prisoners. *Greg. Abulpharag*, p. 486, 487. *Ibn Schunah*, ad ann. Hejir. 642. *D Herbelot*, Bib. Orient. p. 357, 628, 629.

A. D. 1244. Like stout champions of the Lord, and true defenders of catholicity, whom the same faith and the same cross and passion make true brothers, they bravely resisted; but as they were few in number in comparison with the enemy, they at last succumbed, so that of the convents of the house of the chivalry of the Temple, and of the house of the Hospital of St. John at Jerusalem, only thirty-three Templars and twenty-six Hospitallers escaped; the archbishop of Tyre, the bishop of Saint George, the abbot of St. Mary of Jehosaphat, and the Master of the Temple, with many other clerks and holy men, being slain in that sanguinary fight. We ourselves, having by our sins provoked this dire calamity, fled half dead to Ascalon; from thence we proceeded by sea to Acre, and found that city and the adjoining province filled with sorrow and mourning, misery and death. There was not a house or a family that had not lost an inmate or a relation. . . . .

"The Carizmians have now pitched their tents in the plain of Acre, about two miles from the city. They have spread themselves over the whole face of the country as far as Nazareth and Saphet. They have slaughtered or driven away the householders, occupied their houses, and divided their property amongst them. They have appointed bailiffs and tax-gatherers in the towns and villages, and they compel the countrymen and the villeins of the soil to pay to themselves the rents and tribute which they have heretofore been wont to pay to the Christians, so that the church of Jerusalem and the christian kingdom have now no territory, except a few fortifications, which are defended with great difficulty and labour by the Templars and Hospitallers. . . . .

"To you, dearest Fathers, upon whom the burthen of the de-

fence of the cause of Christ justly resteth, we have caused these sad tidings to be communicated, earnestly beseeching you to address your prayers to the throne of grace, imploring mercy from the Most High; that he who consecrated the Holy Land with his own blood in redemption of all mankind, may compassionately turn towards it and defend it, and send it succour. Do ye yourselves, dearest Fathers, as far as ye are able, take sage counsel and speedily assist us, that ye may receive a heavenly reward. But know, assuredly, that unless, through the interposition of the Most High, or by the aid of the faithful, the Holy Land is succoured in the next spring passage from Europe, its doom is sealed, and utter ruin is inevitable. A. D. 1244.

"Since it would be tedious to explain by letter all our necessities, we have sent to you the venerable father bishop of Beirout, and the holy man Arnulph, of the Order of Friars Preachers, who will faithfully and truly unfold the particulars to your venerable fraternity. We humbly entreat you liberally to receive and patiently to hear the aforesaid messengers, who have exposed themselves to great dangers for the church of God, by navigating the seas in the depth of winter. Given at Acre, this fifth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and forty-four."*

The above letter was read before a general council of the church, which had been assembled at Lyons by Pope Innocent IV., and it was resolved that a new crusade should be preached. It was provided that those who assumed the cross should assemble at

* *Matt. Par.* p. 631 to 633, ad ann. 1244. "Huic scripto originali, quod erat hujus exemplum, appensa fuerunt duodecim sigilla.

A. D. 1245. particular places to receive the pope's blessing; that there should be a truce for four years between all christian princes; that during all that time there should be no tournaments, feasts, nor public rejoicings; that all the faithful in Christ should be exhorted to contribute, out of their fortunes and estates, to the defence of the Holy Land; and that ecclesiastics should pay towards it the tenth, and cardinals the twentieth, of all their revenues, for the term of three years successively. The ancient enthusiasm, however, in favour of distant expeditions to the East had died away; the addresses and exhortations of the clergy now fell on unwilling ears, and the Templars and Hospitallers, for several years, received only some small assistance in men and money.

The emperor Frederick, who still bore the empty title of king of Jerusalem, made no attempt to save the wreck of his feeble kingdom. His bride, the fair and youthful Violante, queen of the Latin kingdom, had been dead several years, killed by his coldness and neglect;* and the emperor bestowed no thought upon his eastern subjects and the Holy Land, except to abuse those by whom that land had been so gallantly defended. In a letter to Richard earl of Cornwall, the brother of Henry the Third, king of England, Frederick accuses the Templars of making war upon the sultan of Egypt, in defiance of a treaty entered into with that monarch, of compelling him to call in the Carizmians to his assistance; and he compares the union of the Templars with the infidel sultans, for purposes of defence, to an attempt to extinguish a fire by pouring upon it a quantity of oil. "The proud religion of the Temple," says he,

* The pope accused the emperor, in the face of Europe, of shutting up Violante in a narrow prison, and treating her with inhuman harshness.

in continuation, "nurtured amid the luxuries of the barons of the land, waxeth wanton. It hath been made manifest to us, by certain religious persons lately arrived from parts beyond sea, that the aforesaid sultans and their trains were received with pompous alacrity within the gates of the houses of the Temple, and that the Templars suffered them to perform within them their superstitious rites and ceremonies, with invocation of Mahomet, and to indulge in secular delights."* A. D. 1245.

It would have been more becoming the emperor to have made some exertion on his own part for the preservation of that distant kingdom which he called his own, than to have wasted his time in idle reproaches and unfounded accusations against those who were so gallantly shedding their blood in its defence. The Templars and Hospitallers, unaided and unassisted, still maintained a glorious struggle against the fearful odds opposed to them. Ascalon, however, was unfortunately carried by storm, after nearly all the Hospitallers had been slain in its defence; and the strong citadel of Tiberias, which was defended by a weak and scanty garrison, speedily shared the same fate.†

In the midst of all these terrible disasters, a general chapter of Knights Templars was assembled in the Pilgrim's Castle, and the veteran warrior, Brother WILLIAM DE SONNAC, was chosen Grand Master of the Order.‡ Circular mandates were, at the same time, sent to the western preceptories, summoning all the brethren to WILLIAM DE SONNAC. A. D. 1247.

* *Matt. Par.* p. 618—620.

† *Ibn Schunah*, ad ann. Hejir. 645. *Tyr.* Contin. hist. col. 732.

‡ Cotton MS. Nero E. VI. p. 60, fol. 466, vir discretus et circumspectus; in negotiis quoque bellicis peritus. *Sanut.* L'art de verif. tom. 5, p. 552.

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Palestine, and directing the immediate transmission of all the money in the different treasuries to the head-quarters of the Order at Acre. These calls appear to have been promptly attended to, and the pope praises both the Templars and Hospitallers for the zeal and energy displayed by them in sending out the newly-admitted knights and novices with armed bands and a large amount of treasure to the succour of the holy territory.* The aged knights, and those whose duties rendered them unable to leave the western preceptories, implored the blessings of heaven upon the exertions of their brethren; they observed extraordinary fasts and mortification, and directed continual prayers to be offered up throughout the Order.† Whilst the proposed crusade was slowly progressing, the holy pontiff wrote to the sultan of Egypt, the ally of the Carizmians, proposing a peace or a truce, and received the following grand and magnificent reply to his communication :—

"To the Pope, the noble, the great, the spiritual, the affectionate, the holy, the thirteenth of the apostles, the leader of the sons of baptism, the high priest of the Christians, (may God strengthen him and establish him, and give him happiness!) from the most powerful sultan ruling over the necks of nations; wielding the two great weapons, the sword and the pen; possessing two pre-eminent excellencies—that is to say, learning and judgment; king of two seas; ruler of the South and North; king of the region of Egypt and Syria, Mesopotamia, Media, Idumea, and Ophir; King Saloph Beelpheth,

* Hospitalarii et Templarii milites neophitos et manum armatam cum thesauro non modico illuc ad consolationem et auxilium ibi commorantium festinanter transmiserunt. Epist. Pap. Innocent IV.

† *Matt. Par.* p. 697, 698.

Jacob, son of Sultan Kamel, Hemevafar Mchameth, son of Sultan Hadel, Robethre, son of Jacob, whose kingdom may the Lord God make happy. WILLIAM DE SONNAC. A. D. 1247.

"IN THE NAME OF GOD THE MOST MERCIFUL AND COMPASSIONATE.

"The letters of the Pope, the noble, the great, &c. &c. . . . . have been presented to us. May God favour him who earnestly seeketh after righteousness and doeth good, and wisheth peace, and walketh in the ways of the Lord. May God assist him who worshippeth him in truth. We have considered the aforesaid letters, and have understood the matters treated of therein, which have pleased and delighted us; and the messenger sent by the holy pope came to us, and we caused him to be brought before us with honour, and love, and reverence; and we brought him to see us face to face, and inclining our ears towards him, we listened to his speech, and we have put faith in the words he hath spoken unto us concerning Christ, upon whom be salvation and praise. But we know more concerning that same Christ than ye know, and we magnify him more than ye magnify him. And as to what you say concerning your desire for peace, tranquillity, and quiet, and that you wish to put down war, so also do we; we desire and wish nothing to the contrary. But let the pope know, that between ourselves and the emperor (Frederick) there hath been mutual love, and alliance, and perfect concord, from the time of the sultan, my father, (whom may God preserve and place in the glory of his brightness!) and between you and the emperor there is, as ye know, strife and warfare; whence it is not fit that we should enter into any treaty with the Christians until we have previously had his

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advice and assent. We have therefore written to our envoy at the imperial court upon the propositions made to us by the pope's messenger, &c. . . . .

"This letter was written on the seventh of the month *Maharan*. Praise be to the one only God, and may his blessing rest upon our master Mahomet."*

The Templars and Hospitallers still continued successfully to defend the maritime towns of Palestine and all their strongest fortresses against the efforts of the infidels, and they gradually recovered their footing in the Holy Land. The galleys of the two orders kept the command of the sea, and powerful succour speedily reached them from their western brethren. In the course of a few years the Carizmians were annihilated. The sultan of Egypt having no further need of their services, left them to perish in the lands they had wasted. They were attacked by the sultans of Aleppo and Hems, and were pursued with equal fury by Moslems and by Christians. Several large bodies of them were cut up in detail by the Templars and Hospitallers, and they were at last slain to a man. Their very name perished from the face of the earth, but the traces of their existence were long preserved in the ruin and desolation they had spread around them.† The Holy Land, although happily freed from the destructive presence of these barbarians, had yet everything to fear from the powerful sultan of Egypt, with whom hostilities still continued; and Brother William de Sonnac, the Grand Master of the Temple, for the purpose of stimulating

* Literæ Soldani Babyloniæ ad Papam missæ, a quodam Cardinali ex Arabico translatæ.—*Matt. Par.* p. 711

† Ib. p. 733.

the languid energies of the English nation, and reviving their holy zeal and enthusiasm in the cause of the cross, despatched a distinguished Knight Templar to England, charged with the duty of presenting to king Henry the Third a magnificent crystal vase, containing a portion of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which had been poured forth upon the sacred soil of Palestine for the remission of the sins of all the faithful. WILLIAM DE SONNAC. A. D. 1247.

A solemn attestation of the genuineness of this precious relic, signed by the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the bishops, the abbots, and the barons of the Holy Land, was forwarded to London for the satisfaction of the king and his subjects, and was deposited, together with the vase and its inestimable contents, in the cathedral church of St. Paul.

The king ordered the bishops and clergy of London devoutly and reverently to assemble at St. Paul's, on the anniversary of the translation of St. Edward the Confessor, in full canonicals, with banners, crosses, and lighted wax-candles. On the eve of that day, according to the monk of St. Albans, who personally assisted at the ceremony, "our lord the king, with a devout and contrite spirit, as became that most christian prince, fasting on bread and water, and watching all night with a great light, and performing many pious exercises, prudently prepared himself for the morrow's solemnity."

At the appointed period a procession of bishops, monks, and priests, having been duly marshalled and arranged, king Henry made his appearance upon the steps at the south door of St. Paul's cathedral, and receiving with "the greatest honour, and reverence, and fear, the little vase containing the memorable treasure, he bore

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it publicly through the streets of London, holding it aloft just above his face. Bareheaded, and clothed in a humble habit, he walked afoot without halting, to Westminster Abbey; and although he passed over rough and uneven pavements, yet he invariably kept his eyes stedfastly fixed, either on heaven or on that vase." The king made a solemn procession round Westminster Abbey, then round the Palace at Westminster, and then round his own bed chamber, all the while unweariedly bearing aloft the holy vase, after which he solemnly presented the precious relic to God, and the church of St. Peter, to his dear Edward, and the sacred convent at Westminster.*

No one was more sensibly affected with the melancholy intelligence of the loss of Jerusalem, and the profanation of the holy places by the Carizmians, than Louis king of France. He was taken ill with a violent fever, and whilst weakened with the disease the terrible reports of the outrages committed in the Holy City, the desecration of God's Temple, the murder of the priests, and the profanation of the tomb of Jesus Christ, were ever present to his disordered imagination. During his dreams, or during the access of delirium, he fancied that he heard a voice exclaim, "Arise, king of France, Heaven hath chosen thee to avenge the outrages committed in the city of Jesus Christ." The divine exhortation was ever present to his mind, and as soon as he arose from the bed of sickness he received the cross from the hands of Peter of Auvergne. In vain did his affectionate mother, queen Blanche, the queen his wife, and the members of the royal family, attempt to turn him from his purpose; the good king was resolute, and he was

* *Matt. Par.* p. 736, et in additamentis, p. 161, ad ann. 1247.

determined to make his subjects participate in his crusading zeal and religio-military enthusiasm. He convoked several parliaments at Paris, and addressed long and eloquent orations to the assembled knights and barons. "An impious nation," says he, in the words of David, "hath entered into the Temple of the Lord; the servants of the Most High have been slaughtered in his sanctuaries, and their remains, deprived of christian burial, are a prey to the prowling dogs and the birds of heaven." He reminded them of the gallant deeds of their forefathers, and exhorted them to assume the cross and accompany him to Palestine, to avenge the indignities that had been offered to the blessed Saviour of mankind.* WILLIAM DE SONNAC. A. D. 1247.

The king's three brothers, the count d'Artois, the duke de Poitiers, and the duke of Anjou, immediately assumed the cross, as did also queen Margarita, the countess of Artois, and the duchess of Poitiers. The example of these illustrious members of the royal family was followed by the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy, the counts of St. Paul, Dreux, Bar, Soissons, Blois, Montforte, Vendome, &c. &c., the lord de Joinville, the lord of Beaujeu, constable of France, the high admiral, the lord chamberlain, and more than half the nobility of the kingdom. The crusading fervour extended to England; the earls of Salisbury and Leicester assumed the cross, and were joined by several barons and knights, who proceeded to France, to range themselves under the banners of king Louis. The summer of the year 1248 was fixed on as the period for the departure of the formidable expedition.

The Templars and Hospitallers in the mean time continued to be engaged in active hostilities in all parts of Syria and Palestine.

* *Joinville*, vie de St. Louis.

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Every day their difficulties increased, and the prospect before them became more and more gloomy. The sultan of Egypt had dethroned Saleh Ismael, the ally of the Templars, and had recovered possession of Damascus. He had extended his dominions to the Euphrates, and his powerful sway now extended over many of the fairest provinces of Syria.*

The Comans, another fierce pastoral tribe of wandering Tartars, had made their way through the christian province of Armenia into the principality of Antioch, and were ravaging both banks of the Orontes, and carrying away the inhabitants into captivity. The king of Armenia and the prince of Antioch despatched messengers to the Templars and Hospitallers for succour; and, as the danger was pressing, the Grand Masters of the two orders drew a strong body of forces out of their different fortresses, and hurried to the relief of the distressed provinces. In a long and bloody battle, fought in the neighbourhood of the iron bridge over the Orontes, the wild barbarous hordes were overthrown and slaughtered, and the vast and wealthy city of Antioch was saved from pillage. The Hospitallers suffered severe loss, and Brother Bertrand de Comps, the Grand Master of that illustrious order, died of his wounds four days after the terrible encounter.†

As the Templars and Hospitallers continued valiantly to maintain their ground in Syria and Palestine, and no immediate danger was apprehended to the maritime towns held by them, or to any of their important positions, it was determined that the approaching expedition, under the command of the king of France, should be

* *Tyr.* Contin. hist. col. 731.

† *De Vertot*, liv. iii. ad ann. 1248. *Tyr.* Contin. hist. col. 732, 733.

directed against Egypt, to take vengeance on sultan Ayoub for all the calamities and misfortunes he had brought upon the Holy City and the sacred land of promise. WILLIAM DE SONNAC. A. D. 1249.

In the month of June, A. D. 1249, the galleys of the Templars left Acre with a strong body of forces on board, under the command of the Grand Master William de Sonnac, and joined the French fleet which was then lying at anchor in the mouth of the Nile. Damietta had been abandoned and the fortifications destroyed on the approach of the crusaders, and the solitary ruins of the deserted city were occupied without resistance by the French army. The great mosque was repaired and reconsecrated, and Te Deum was chaunted with vast pomp and magnificence in the venerable building in the presence of king Louis and all his court.* Immediately after this memorable event the following letter was forwarded by Brother William de Sonnac to the Master of the Temple at London :—

"Brother William de Sonnac, by the grace of God Master of the poor chivalry of the Temple, to his beloved brother in Christ, Robert de Sanford, Preceptor of England, salvation through the Lord.

"We hasten to unfold to you by these presents, agreeable and happy intelligence. . . . . (He details the landing of the French, the defeat of the infidels with the loss of one christian soldier, and the subsequent capture of the city.) "Damietta, therefore, has been taken, not by our deserts, nor by the might of our armed bands, but through the divine power and assistance. Moreover, be it known to you that king Louis, with God's favour, proposes to march upon Alexandria or Cairo for the purpose of

* *Matt Par.* in additamentis, p. 166, 168.

WILLIAM DE SONNAC. A.D. 1249.

delivering our brethren there detained in captivity, and of reducing, with God's help, the whole land to the christian worship. Farewell."*

The Lord de Joinville, the friend of king Louis, and one of the bravest of the French captains, gives a lively and most interesting account of the campaign, and of the famous exploits of the Templars. During the march towards Cairo, they led the van of the christian army, and on one occasion, when the king of France had given strict orders that no attack should be made upon the infidels, and that an engagement should be avoided, a body of Turkish cavalry advanced against them. "One of these Turks," says Joinville, "gave a Knight Templar in the first rank so heavy a blow with his battle-axe, that it felled him under the feet of the Lord Reginald de Vichier's horse, who was Marshal of the Temple; the Marshal, seeing his man fall, cried out to his brethren, 'At them in the name of God, for I cannot longer stand this.' He instantly stuck spurs into his horse, followed by all his brethren, and as their horses were fresh, not a Saracen escaped."

After marching for some days, the Templars arrived on the banks of the Tanitic branch of the Nile, (the ancient Pelusiac mouth of the river,) and found the sultan encamped with his entire force on the opposite side, to prevent and oppose their passage. King Louis attempted to construct a bridge to enable him to cross the stream, and long and earnestly did the Templars labour at the task, "but," says Joinville, "as fast as we advanced our bridge the Saracens destroyed it; they dug, on their side of the river, wide and deep holes in the earth, and as the water recoiled from our bridge it filled

* *Matt. Par.* in additamentis, p. 168, 169.

these holes with water, and tore away the bank, so that what we had been employed on for three weeks or a month they ruined in one or two days." To protect the soldiers employed upon the construction of the bridge large wooden towers were erected, and *chas-chateils* or covered galleries, and the infidels exerted all their energies to destroy them with the terrible Greek fire. "At night," says Joinville, "they brought forward an engine called by them La Perriere, a dreadful engine to do mischief, and they flung from it such quantities of Greek fire that it was the most horrible sight ever witnessed. . . . . This Greek fire was like a large tun and its tail was of the length of a long spear; the noise which it made was like to thunder, and it seemed a great dragon of fire flying through the air, giving so great a light with its flame, that we saw in our camp as clearly as in broad day." WILLIAM DE SONNAC. A. D. 1250.

The military engines and machines were all burnt, and the Christians were about to yield themselves up to despair, when a Bedouin Arab offered, for a bribe of five hundred golden byzants, to show a safe ford. At dawn of day, on Shrove Tuesday, the French knights mounted on horseback to make trial of the ford of the Bedouin.

"Before we set out," says Joinville, "the king had ordered that the Templars should form the van, and the Count d'Artois, his brother, should command the second division after the Templars; but the moment the Count d'Artois had passed the ford, he and all his people fell on the Saracens, and putting them to flight, galloped after them. The Templars sent to call the Count d'Artois back, and to tell him that it was his duty to march behind and not before them; but it happened that the Count d'Artois could not

WILLIAM DE SONNAC. A.D. 1250.

make any answer by reason of my Lord Foucquault du Melle, who held the bridle of his horse, and my Lord Foucquault, who was a right good knight, being deaf, heard nothing the Templars were saying to the Count d'Artois, but kept bawling out, '*Forward! forward!*' ("Or a eulz! or a eulz!") When the Templars perceived this, they thought they should be dishonoured if they allowed the Count d'Artois thus to take the lead; so they spurred their horses more and more, and faster and faster, and chased the Turks, who fled before them, through the town of Mansourah, as far as the plains towards Babylon.*

The Arabian writers, in their account of the entry of the Templars into Mansourah, tell us that 2,000 horsemen galloped into the place sword in hand and surprised Fakho'ddin Othman, commonly called Ibn Saif, the Moslem general, and one of the principal mamlook emirs, in the bath, and barbarously cut him to pieces as he was painting his beard before a glass.† But the impetuous courage of the Count d'Artois and the Templars had led them far away from the support of the main body of the army, and their horsemen became embarrassed in the narrow streets of Mansourah, where there was no room to charge or manœuvre with effect. The infidels rallied; they returned to the attack with vast reinforcements; the inhabitants of the town mounted to their house-tops, and discharged stones and brickbats upon the heads of the christian knights, and the Templars were defeated and driven out of the city with dreadful

* Quant les Templiers virent ce, il se penserent que il seroient honniz se il lessoient le Compte d'Artois aler devant eulz; si ferirent des esperons qui plus plus, et qui miex miex, et chasserent les Turcs. *Joinville*, p. 47.

† *Ibn Schunah*, ad ann. Hejir. 648.

carnage. "The Count d'Artois and the Earl of Leicester were there slain, and as many as three hundred other knights. The Templars lost, as their chief informed me, full fourteen score men-at-arms, and all his horsemen." The Grand Master of the Temple also lost an eye, and cut his way through the infidels to the main body of the christian army, accompanied only by two Knights Templars.* There he again mixed in the affray, took the command of a vanguard, and is to be found fighting by the side of the Lord de Joinville at sunset. WILLIAM DE SONNAC. A. D. 1250.

At the close of the long and bloody day, the Christians regained their camp in safety. King Louis, Joinville, and the Grand Master of the Temple had been fighting side by side during a great part of the afternoon; Joinville had his horse killed under him, and performed prodigies of valour. He was severely wounded, and on retiring to his quarters he found that a magnificent tent had been sent to him by the Grand Master of the Temple, as a testimony of regard and esteem.

On the first Friday in Lent, Bendocdar, the great mamlook general and lieutenant of the sultan of Egypt, advanced at the head of a vast army of horse and foot to attack the Christians in their intrenchments. King Louis drew out his army in battle array, and posted them in eight divisions in front of the camp. The Templars, under their venerable Grand Master, formed the fourth division, and the fate of their gallant chieftain is thus described by the lord de Joinville.

"The next battalion was under the command of Brother William

* Nec evasit de totâ illâ gloriosâ militiâ nisi duo Templarii. *Matt. Par.* ad ann. 1250. Chron. *Nangis*, p. 790.

William de Sonnac, A. D. 1250.

de Sonnac, Master of the Temple, who had with him the small remnant of the brethren of his order who survived the battle of Shrove Tuesday. The Master of the Temple made of the engines which he had taken from the Saracens a sort of rampart in his front, but when the Saracens marched up to the assault, they threw Greek fire upon it, and as the Templars had piled up many planks of fir-wood amongst these engines, they caught fire immediately; and the Saracens, perceiving that the brethren of the Temple were few in number, dashed through the burning timbers, and vigorously attacked them. In the preceding battle of Shrove Tuesday, Brother William, the Master of the Temple, lost one of his eyes, and in this battle the said lord lost his other eye, and was slain. God have mercy on his soul! And know that immediately behind the place where the battalion of the Templars stood, there was a good acre of ground, so covered with darts, arrows, and missiles, that you could not see the earth beneath them, such showers of these had been discharged against the Templars by the Saracens." *

The command over the surviving brethren of the order now devolved upon the Marshal, Brother Reginald de Vichier, until a new Grand Master could be regularly elected.

After a long and bloody fight the infidels were repulsed; most of the Templars died at their post, but a small remnant of them

* Et à celle bataille frère Guillaume le Mestre du Temple perdi l'un des yex, et l'autre avoit il perdu le jour de quaresm permant, et en fu mort ledit seigneur, que Dieux absoille. Et sachez que il avoit bien un journel de terre daricre les Templiers, qui estoit si chargé de pyles que les Sarrazins leur avoient lanciées, que il n'i paroit point de terre pour la grant foison de pyles.—*Joinville*, p. 58.

survived, and retired to the camp to participate in all the subsequent horrors and misfortunes. "At the end of eight or ten days," says Joinville, "the bodies of those who had been slain and thrown into the Nile rose to the top of the water. These bodies floated down the river until they came to the small bridge that communicated with each part of our army; the arch was so low that it prevented the bodies from passing underneath, and the river was consequently covered with them from bank to bank, so that the water could not be seen. . . . . God knows how great was the stench. I never heard that any who were exposed to this infectious smell ever recovered their health. The whole army was infected with a shocking disorder, which dried up the flesh on our legs to the bone; and our skins became tanned as the ground, or like an old boot that has long lain behind a coffer. . . . The disorder increased, the barbers were forced to cut away very large pieces of flesh from the gums to enable their patients to eat; it was pitiful to hear the cries and groans, they were like the cries of women in labour." A. D. 1250.

The army attempted to retreat when retreat was almost impossible; the soldiers became dispersed and scattered; thousands died by the way-side, and thousands fell alive into the hands of the enemy, among which last were the king and Joinville. They were both attacked by the disease, and king Louis laid himself down to die in an Arab hut, where he was found and kindly treated by the Saracens. Reginald de Vichier and a few of his brethren reached Damietta in safety, and took measures for the defence of the place. All those of the prisoners who were unable to redeem their lives by services as slaves to the conquerors, or by ransom, were inhumanly massacred, and a grim circle of christian heads decorated the walls and battlements of Cairo.

A. D. 1250. The infidels required as the price of the liberty of the French monarch the surrender of all the fortresses of the order of the Temple in Palestine; but the king told them that the Templars were not subject to his command, nor had he any means of compelling them to give effect to such an agreement. Louis and his friend Joinville at last obtained their deliverance from captivity by the surrender of Damietta, and by the payment of two hundred thousand pieces of gold; and the liberation of the king's brother, and of the other captive nobles and knights was to be purchased by the payment of a similar sum. The king immediately went on board the French fleet which was at anchor before Damietta, and exerted himself to raise the residue of the ransom; and all Saturday and Sunday were employed in collecting it together.

"On Sunday evening," says Joinville, "the king's servants, who were occupied in counting out the money, sent to say that there was a deficiency of thirty thousand livres. I observed to the king that we had better ask the commander and Marshal of the Temple, since the Master was dead, to give us the thirty thousand livres. Brother Stephen d'Otricourt, knight commander of the Temple, hearing the advice I gave to the king, said to me, 'Lord de Joinville, the counsel you give the king is not right nor reasonable, for you know that we receive every farthing of our money on our oaths, and that we cannot make payment but to those who give us their oaths in return.'*

"There were immediately some hard words and sharp retorts between him and me; and Brother Reginald de Vichier, who was Marshal of the Temple, said to the king, 'Sire, it is as our commander

* Meaning, I suppose, that he was content to *lend* the money, but not to *give* it.

has said, we cannot dispose of any of the money intrusted to us but for the means intended, in accordance with the rules of our institution, without acting contrary to our oaths and being perjured. A. D. 1250.

"Know that the seneschal hath ill advised you to take our money by force, but in this you will act as you please; should you, however, do so, *we will make ourselves amends out of the money you have in Acre.*

"I then told the king that if he wished I would go and get the money, and he commanded me so to do. I instantly went on board one of the galleys of the Templars, and demanded of the treasurer the keys of a coffer which I saw before me. They refused, and I was about to break it open with a wedge in the king's name, when the marshal, observing I was in earnest, ordered the keys to be given to me. I opened the coffer, took out the sum wanting, and carried it to the king, who was much rejoiced at my return."*

These violent proceedings do not appear to have interrupted the harmony which had previously subsisted between the king and the Templars. Louis returned with them to Palestine; he was received with great distinction by the order at Acre, and remained there four years.

A general chapter of Knights Templars from the east and the west was assembled in the Pilgrim's Castle, and the Marshal, Brother REGINALD DE VICHIER, who had commanded with great skill and prudence in Egypt after the death of Brother William de Sonnac, was chosen to fill the vacant dignity of Grand Master.† REGINALD DE VICHIER. A. D. 1251.

Henry the Third, king of England, had assumed the cross shortly

* *Joinville*, p. 80, 81, by *Johnes*, p. 182, 183.

† *Cotton* MS. ut sup. *Ducange* Gloss. L'art de verif. ut sup.

REGINALD DE VICHIER. A. D. 1251.

after intelligence had been conveyed to England of the horrors and atrocities committed by the Carizmians in the Holy City. Year after year, he had promised to fulfil his vow, and the pope issued numerous bulls, kindly providing for the tranquillity and security of his dominions during his absence, and ordering prayers to be offered up to God for the success of his arms, in all the churches of Christendom. King Henry now assembled a parliament to obtain the necessary supplies, and positively fixed the 24th day of June, A. D. 1255, as the period of his departure. His knights and barons, however, viewing his projected crusade as a mere scheme for extorting money, resolutely refused to grant him the funds necessary for the expedition, and the needy monarch attempted to throw the whole expense of the transport of himself and his army to the East, upon the military orders of the Temple and the Hospital. In a very curious letter contained in Rymer's valuable collection, he addresses them as follows:—

"As you are said to possess a well-equipped fleet, we beseech you to set apart for our own use some of your strongest vessels, and have them furnished and equipped with provisions, sailors, and all things requisite for a twelvemonth's voyage, so that we may be able, ere the period for our own departure arrives, to freight them with the soldiers, arms, horses, and munitions of war that we intend to send to the succour of the Holy Land. You will also be pleased to provide secure habitations and suitable accommodation for the said soldiers and their equipage, until the period of our own arrival. You will then be good enough to send back the same vessels to England to conduct ourselves and suite to Palestine; and by your prompt obedience to these our commands, we shall judge of your devotion

to the interests of the Holy Land, and of your attachment to our person."* REGINALD DE VICHIER. A. D. 1252.

The Templars and Hospitallers do not appear to have responded very cordially to these modest demands, and king Henry's much talked of expedition consequently never took place.

King Louis, in the mean time, remained in Palestine, and diligently assisted the Templars in putting the country into a defensible state. He repaired the fortifications of Jaffa and Cæsarea, and during his residence at the last-named place, he conferred the honour of knighthood upon Beaumont, the son of the prince of Antioch.† The lord de Joinville remained with him the whole time, and relates some curious events that took place during his stay. It appears that the scheik of the assassins still continued to pay tribute to the Templars; and during the king's residence at Acre, the chief sent ambassadors to him to obtain a remission of the tribute. He gave them an audience, and declared that he would consider of their proposal. "When they came again before the king," says Joinville, "it was about vespers, and they found the Master of the Temple on one side of him, and the Master of the Hospital on the other. The ambassadors refused to repeat what they had said in the morning, but the Masters of the Temple and the Hospital commanded them so to do. Then the Masters of the Temple and Hospital told them that their lord had very foolishly and impudently sent such a message to the king of France, and had they not been invested with the character of ambassadors, they would have thrown

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. i. p. 473, ad ann. 1252.

† *Tyr.* Contin. hist. col. 734, 735.

REGINALD DE VICHIER. A. D. 1253.

them into the filthy sea of Acre, and have drowned them in despite of their master. 'And we command you,' continued the masters, 'to return to your lord, and to come back within fifteen days with such letters from your prince, that the king shall be contented with him and with you.'"

The ambassadors accordingly did as they were bid, and brought back from their scheik a shirt, the symbol of friendship, and a great variety of rich presents, "crystal elephants, pieces of amber, with borders of pure gold," &c. &c.* "You must know that when the ambassadors opened the case containing all these fine things, the whole apartment was instantly embalmed with the odour of their sweet perfumes."

The treaty entered into between king Louis and the infidels had been violated by the murder of the sick at Damietta, and by the detention, in a state of slavery, of many knights and soldiers, as well as of a large body of christian children. The Templars accordingly re-commenced hostilities, and marched with Joinville and the French knights against the castle of Panias, a strong fortress of the infidels, which the Templars found to be in inconvenient proximity to their great castle of Saphet. They ascended the lofty mountain on which the castle was situated, in four divisions, and after an obstinate resistance, the place was carried sword in hand.

The sultan of Damascus immediately took the field at the head of a large army; he stormed the hill fort Dok, which belonged to the Templars, slaughtered the garrison, and razed the fortifications to the ground; the castle of Ricordane shared the same fate, and the

* *Joinville*, p. 95, 96.

city of Sidon was taken by assault, whilst the workmen and artificers were diligently employed in rebuilding the walls; eight hundred men were put to the sword, and four hundred masons and artificers were taken prisoners and carried off to Damascus.* The Templars again took the field and compelled the infidels to retire, and king Louis employed fresh masons and workmen upon the fortifications. REGINALD DE VICHIER. A. D. 1254.

At last, after residing nearly two years at Acre, and spending vast sums of money upon the defences of the maritime towns of Palestine, king Louis returned to France. He set sail from Acre on the 24th of April, with a fleet of fourteen sail, the king's ship being steered by Brother Rèmond, the pilot or steersman of the Grand Master of the Temple, who was charged to conduct the king across the wide waters in safety to his own dominions.

On his arrival in France, Louis manifested his esteem for the Templars by granting them the château and lordship of Bazèes, near Bauvez, in Aquitaine; the deed of gift is expressed to be made in consideration of the charitable works which the king had seen performed amongst the Templars, and in acknowledgment of the services they had rendered to him, and to the intent that he might be made a participator in the good works done by the fraternity, and be remembered in the prayers of the brethren. This deed was delivered on the day of Pentecost to Brother Hugh, Grand Preceptor of Aquitaine, in the cathedral church of Angouleme, in the presence of numerous archbishops, bishops, counts, and barons.†

At the period of the return of the king of France to Europe,

* *Tyr.* Contin. hist. col. 735.

† Gallia Christiana nova, tom. ii. col. 1008. *Baudoin*, priv. de l'ordre de St. Jean, p. 9.

REGINALD DE VICHIER. A. D. 1254.

Henry the Third, king of England, was in Gascony with Brother Robert de Sanford, Master of the Temple at London, who had been previously sent by the English monarch into that province to appease the troubles which had there broken out.* King Henry proceeded to the French capital, and was magnificently entertained by the Knights Templars at the Temple in Paris, which Matthew Paris tells us was of such immense extent that it could contain within its precincts a numerous army. The day after his arrival, king Henry ordered an innumerable quantity of poor people to be regaled at the Temple with meat, fish, bread, and wine; and at a later hour the king of France and all his nobles came to dine with the English monarch. "Never," says Matthew Paris, "was there at any period in bygone times so noble and so celebrated an entertainment. They feasted in the great hall of the Temple, where hang the shields on every side, as many as they can place along the four walls, according to the custom of the order beyond sea. . . ."† The Knights Templars in this country likewise exercised a magnificent hospitality, and constantly entertained kings, princes, nobles, prelates, and foreign ambassadors at the Temple. Immediately after the return of king Henry to England, some illustrious ambassadors from Castile came on a visit to the Temple at London; and as the king "greatly delighted to honour them," he commanded three pipes of wine to be placed in the cellars of the Temple for their use,‡ and ten fat bucks to be brought them at the same place

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. i. p. 474, ad ann. 1252.

† *Matt. Par.* ad ann. 1254, p. 899, 909.

‡ . . . . Mandatum est Johanni de Eynfort, camerario regis London. quod sine dilatione capiat quatuor dolia boni vini, et ea liberet Johanni de Suwerk, ponenda in cellaria

from the royal forest in Essex.* He, moreover, commanded the mayor and sheriffs of London, and the commonalty of the same city, to take with them a respectable assemblage of the citizens, and to go forth and meet the said ambassadors without the city, and courteously receive them, and honour them, and conduct them to the Temple.† REGINALD DE VICHIER. A.D. 1255.

Alexander IV., who had just been raised to the pontifical chair, vacant by the death of pope Innocent, hastened to bestow various marks of regard and esteem upon the Templars. During the first and second years of his pontificate, he issued ten bulls in their behalf, addressed to the bishops of the church universal, commanding them to respect and maintain the privileges conceded to the fraternity by the holy see; to judge and punish all persons who should dare to exact tythe from the brethren; to institute to the ecclesiastical benefices of the order, all clerks presented to them by the preceptors, without previously requiring them to make a fixed provision or maintenance for such clerks, and to proceed judicially against, and severely to punish, all who appropriated to their own use the alms' gifts and eleemosynary donations made to the brotherhood.

Pope Alexander, declares the Templars to be exempt from the duty of contributing to the travelling expenses of all nuncios and legates of the holy see, under the dignity of a cardinal, when passing through their territories, unless express orders to the contrary

Novi Templi London. ad opus nuntiorum ipsorum.—Acta *Rymeri*, tom. i. p. 557, ad ann. 1255.

* Et mandatum est Ricardo de Muntfichet, custodi forestæ Regis Essex, quod eadem forestâ sine dilatione capiat X. damos, et eos usque ad Novum Templum London cariari faciat, liberandos prædicto Johanni, ad opus prædictorum nuntiorum. *Ib.*

† Acta *Rymeri*, p. 557, 558.

REGINALD DE VICHIER. A. D. 1256.

are given by apostolic letters.* He calls on all the bishops earnestly and vigorously to protect and defend the right of sanctuary accorded the houses of the Temple, forbidding all persons to offer violence to those who fled to them for safety; and he, at the same time, commands the Templars to extend no protection to murderers and disturbers of the public peace. He confirms all the previous privileges, immunities, and exemptions conceded to the fraternity by the holy see, and by all persons and bodies corporate, both lay and spiritual. He commands the bishops to fulminate the dreadful sentence of excommunication against all who dared to offer violence to any of the brethren, or accused or slandered them unjustly, either in public or private, or occasioned them any injury or damage whatever, and to continue the sentence in full force until full satisfaction and reparation were made for the injury. The bishops are moreover required to render full and effectual justice on all occasions to the Templars, in order that they may not be compelled so frequently to have recourse to the holy see; and to consecrate, when required, the churches, chapels, and cemeteries, constructed for the use of the fraternity, their vassals, and retainers. One of these bulls, addressed specially to the Grand Preceptor and brethren in England, provides, that the non-user by the Templars of their privileges shall in no degree destroy or prejudice the right.†

The year after the departure of king Louis from Palestine, the Templars entered into a truce with the sultan of Damascus, and concluded a treaty with him for the mutual exchange of prisoners, and for settling the boundaries of their respective territories. The

* Regulæ et constitutiones ord. Cisterc. p. 480.

† Acta *Rymeri*, tom. i. p. 575—582.

truce was to extend to all the country lying between the river of Arsouf and the river of Beirout.* THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1257.

Shortly after the making of this treaty, Brother Reginald de Vichier, the Grand Master of the Temple, fell sick and died, at an advanced age. He was succeeded by the English Knight Templar Brother THOMAS BERARD.†

The terrible Moguls and Tartars, those fierce vagrant tribes of shepherds and hunters, whose "word was the sword of death," and whose victorious arms had overturned the thrones of Asia, and spread terror and desolation over the greater part of Europe, now approached Palestine, under the command of the famous Holagou.‡ The storm first burst upon the infidel sultans of Hems, Aleppo, and Damascus; the forces of these potentates were overthrown and annihilated, and the Tartars spread themselves like a cloud of devouring locusts over their rich and fertile territories.

Elated with success, the Tartar chief sent a message to the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital, requiring them to purchase their lives and safety by instant submission and the payment of tribute; but the military friars sent back a fierce note of defiance, characterising the Tartars as "devils escaped from hell," and telling them that they would ever find the servants of the

* *Tyr.* contin. hist. col. 735.

† M. C. C. LVI. morut frère Renaut de Vichieres Maistre du Temple. Apres lui fu fait Maistre frère Thomas Berard. *Tyr.* contin. hist. col. 736.

‡ Cil Turquemans sont un gent sauvage qui n'ont de villes ne chastiaus, ains sont les jors herberjies en tentes qu'il ont de feutres, et ont bestes a grant foison, si come brebis, et moutons, et aucunes chievres et meismement bues et vasches et vivent come berchier. *Tyr.* contin. hist. col. 732.

THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1258.

Lord their immortal foes, ready to meet them on the battle-field.* The Templars kept their word; they did meet the Tartars, but were overthrown with frightful carnage, and nearly all their forces in Palestine were annihilated. All the brethren from the convent of Acre, and all the troops that could be spared from the Pilgrim's Castle and the castles of Saphet and Beaufort, were assembled, under the command of Brother Etienne de Sisi, Grand Preceptor of Apulia, and Brother Matthew le Sauvage, a knight commander of the Temple, and were cut to pieces in the sanguinary fight. The Templars lost all their tents, baggage, arms, and treasure. Brother Matthew le Sauvage was taken prisoner, and scarce a man survived to carry the news of the disaster to Acre.†

Holagou penetrated the mountain fastnesses in the neighbourhood of Tripoli. He took the rich and populous cities of Aleppo, Hamah, Hems, and Damascus, and desolated with fire and the sword the vast and fertile plain of the Orontes. From Damascus he marched upon Tiberias and Naplous, without meeting an enemy to oppose his progress, and at last entered in triumph the holy city of Jerusalem, which he found abandoned and desolate.‡ The mamlooks, whose power in Egypt had year by year gradually increased, who "had breathed in their infancy the keenness of a Scythian air," and were equal in valour to the Tartars, and superior to them in discipline,

* *Od. Rainald*, ad ann. 1257.

† Apres furent desconfis des Turquemans frère Etienne de Sisi, Maistre du Temple, o tout le couvent d'Acre; de chastiaus Pelerin, de Saphet e de Biaufort; et furent prise le Sire de Baruth et le Commandeor du Temple frère Matthieu le Sauvage et mult d'autres a cheval et à pié; et furent mors et pris et perdirent li Templiers tot lor hernois. *Tyr.* contin. hist. col. 737

‡ *Tyr.* contin. hist. col. 736.

now advanced from the banks of the Nile, to contend with the invaders for dominion in the plains of Palestine. The miserable Franks fled from their homes and cottages, and sheltered themselves within the walls of their fortified towns and castles; all the open country was devastated by the contending armies, and the whole land, from Tiberias to Jerusalem, was converted into a desert. THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1260.

The intelligence of all these misfortunes and disasters now made but little impression upon the western nations, and it became evident that the final destruction of the Latin power in the East could not be much longer delayed. "Coming events cast their shadows before them," and the few remaining lords and barons of the country now prepared to take a final departure from the doomed land of their birth, and to sell their inheritances for whatever they could get for them. Balian, the lord of Arsouf, sold that place with all its dependencies to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John; and the lord Julian, in like manner, sold the city of Sidon and the strong castle of Beaufort, with their territories and dependencies, to the Templars.* There was no prospect of any important succour from Europe, beyond the regular supplies furnished to the Templars and Hospitallers at each spring and autumn passage, and the Grand Master of the Temple attempted to awaken the compassion of Henry III. king of England, by the following melancholy letters:—

"To his most excellent master and most particular friend, Henry, by the providence of the Most High, the illustrious king of the English, Brother Thomas Berard, by the grace of God, the humble Master of the poor chivalry of the Temple, tendereth all manner of

*. *Tyr.* contin. hist. col. 736. *Marin. Sanut.* p. 221.

THOMAS PERARD. A.D. 1260.

respect and reverence from himself and the whole order of the chivalry of the Temple. May his reign be prosperous; and when this world's rule draws to a close may he be crowned with the crown of eternal glory.

"By these presents I proceed, my dear lord, to inform your excellency that, by the grace of God, and through your own kindness, I was, at the departure of these letters, in the enjoyment of excellent health, and earnestly and continually desiring to receive good and happy intelligence concerning the state and increase of your magnificent dominion. May it for ever prosper!

"The melancholy situation, and the unfavourable account of the country on this side the sea, our lord the legate, the bishops, and we ourselves, and the other religious men of the land, have jointly made known to you by the inclosed letters. And know, my dear lord, that the contents of those letters are in every respect true, and that we have no hope or chance of safety from our own unaided exertions. We rely alone on God, the king of France, and on the constancy, and might, and power of your majesty. For the love of God, my dear lord, deign to regard with an eye of pity our poor Christianity on this side the sea, and succour it with speed. . . . . I beseech you also, my dear lord, that for the love of God, and through reverence of our holy religion, you do favourably regard myself and our order, and all the brethren of our order.

"May you live long and happily, and may your goodness and dominion always increase. Given at Acre, the 5th day of April."*

The letter alluded to by the Grand Master commences in the following terms.

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom 1, p. 698, 699, ad ann. 1260.

"To the most excellent christian prince the lord Henry, the illustrious king of England. Brother Thomas, of the order of Friars' Preachers, by the divine mercy bishop of Bethlehem, legate of the holy apostolic see, his assiduous intercessor with God; Brother Hugh Revel, humble Master of the House of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, and guardian of the poor of Christ; Brother Thomas Berard, humble Master of the House of the chivalry of the Temple, present themselves with devout recommendation in behalf of the Holy Land. THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1269.

"The terrible persecution of the Tartars, who rage madly in Syria, who day by day grow more powerful, and who now cover the whole face of the earth, to the extreme boundaries of our christian empire, has stricken Christ's faithful flock with the terror that follows the loud thunderclap, and threatens us with the destruction that attends upon the rapid lightning; so that our strength faileth, and our hearts sink within us. With continual letters and many prayers has our poor Christianity on this side the sea besought the assistance of the kings and princes of this world, and above all, the aid and succour of your majesty, imploring your royal compassion with sighs and tears, and a loud sounding voice, and crying out with a bitter cry in the hope that it would penetrate the royal ear, and reach the ends of the earth, and arouse the faithful from their slumbers, and draw them to the protection of the Holy Land!"

They proceed to complain in bitter terms of the neglect and indifference of Christendom to their prayers and supplications; of the ease with which Jerusalem might have been recovered, and the Holy Land rendered safe and secure from the attempts of Christ's enemies, if their earnest representations had been attended to.

THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1260.

They display in moving language the many perils by which they are beset, and declare that of all the children of the land of promise there were then none to comfort it, nor rescue it, nor save it, nor bring it succour. They compare the Christians in Palestine, despoiled of their heritage, and harassed by armies of infidels, to a small flock surrounded by wolves. "Why, most renowned sovereign," they demand, "is not thy royal power manifested, and the right hand of thy majesty stretched forth? For what space of time shall the enemy of the christian name be exalted against us? How long shall that sacred land which hath been reddened with the blood of Christ be permitted to be so abominably trampled upon by beasts, when it can be so easily rescued and fortified with perpetual peace?" *

At the period of the receipt of these letters, the king of England was in pecuniary embarrassments, and apparently unable to afford the necessary succour. He was reduced, indeed, to the cruel necessity of borrowing money in France upon the security of his regalia and crown jewels, which were deposited in the Temple at Paris, as appears from the letter of the queen of France "to her very dear brother Henry, the illustrious king of England," giving a long list of golden wands, golden combs, diamond buckles, chaplets, and circlets, golden crowns, imperial beavers, rich girdles, golden peacocks, and rings innumerable, adorned with sapphires, rubies, emeralds, topazes, and carbuncles, which she says she had inspected in the presence of the treasurer of the Temple at Paris, and that the same were safely deposited in the coffers of the Templars.†

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 1, p. 6[illegible].

† Ib. p. 730, 878, 879, ad. ann. 1261.

THOMAS BERARD. A.D. 1260.

On the 3rd of September the forces of the sultan of Egypt, under the command of Bendocdar, the mamlook general, gained a complete victory over the Tartars in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, and drove back the stream of hostility to the eastward of the Euphrates.* Bendocdar returned to Egypt the idol of his soldiers, and clothed with a popularity which rendered him too powerful for a subject. He aspired to the possession of the throne which he had so successfully defended, and slew with his own hand his sovereign and master Kothuz, the third mamlook sutlan of Egypt. The mamlooks hailed him with acclamations as their sovereign, and on the 24th day of October, A. D. 1260, he was solemnly proclaimed sultan of Egypt, in the town of Salahieh in the Delta.

Bendocdar was one of the greatest men of the age, and soon proved the most formidable enemy that the Templars had encountered in the field since the days of Saladin. From the humble station of a Tartar slave, he had raised himself to the sovereignty of one of the most powerful empires in the east; and through his military exploits and zeal in defence of Islam, he had acquired the high-sounding title of "column of religion and father of victory."† He had defeated king Louis and the flower of the French chivalry in the plains of Egypt, and the wild hordes of the Tartars in the mountainous country around Tiberias; and he now avowed his determination to crush at once and for ever the hostile dominion of the Latins in Asia.

The first two years of his accession to power were employed in

* *Tyr.* Contin. hist. col. 736. *Marin Sanut.* p. 221.

† *D'Herbelot*, Bib Orient. p. 204—206.

THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1262.

the extension and consolidation of his sway over the adjoining Mussulman countries. The holy cities of Mecca and Medina acknowledged him for their sovereign, as did Damascus, Aleppo, Hems, and Jerusalem. His sway extended over Egypt, Nubia, Arabia, and Syria; and his throne was defended by twenty-five thousand mamlook cavalry. His power was further strengthened by an army of one hundred and seven thousand foot, and by the occasional aid of sixty-six thousand Arabians. A potentate of such power and spirit could not be expected long to brook in the very heart of his dominions the hostile and independent sovereignty of the Franks.

After receiving the homage and submission of the rulers and people of Aleppo, Bendocdar made a hostile demonstration against the vast and wealthy city of Antioch; but finding the place well defended,* he retired with his army, by way of Hems, Damascus, and Tiberias, to Egypt. The next year he crossed the desert at the head of thirty thousand cavalry, and overran all Palestine up to the very gates of Acre, to take vengeance, as he pretended, on the Franks for the breach by them of the treaty entered into with the previous sultan of Egypt. This treaty had been broken, according to the cadi Mohieddin, secretary of state, who wrote a history of the life and exploits of Bendocdar, in the following particulars. 1st. The Hospitallers had raised a high tower in the faubourg of Arsouf, contrary to the stipulation that no new fortifications should be erected. 2nd. The Franks had seized the deputies of the sultan whilst on their voyage to the island of

* *Tyr.* Contin. hist. 737. *Sanut.* p. 221.

Cyprus. 3rd. They had promised to send back the Moslem prisoners, and had not done so.* THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1263.

After laying waste the gardens and cornfields around Acre, and compelling the Templars and Hospitallers to shelter themselves behind their fortifications, Bendocdar proceeded to manifest his hatred to the Christians by burning the great churches of Nazareth and Mount Tabor; and he sought to awaken the zeal and enthusiasm of his soldiers in behalf of Islam by performing the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He visited with great devotion the Mosque of Omar, distributed alms amongst the poor Moslems, and ordered the walls and fortifications of the Holy City to be rebuilt.

To add, unfortunately, to the difficulties and distresses of the Templars, a quarrel sprung up between them and the pope. Brother Etienne Sisi, Grand Preceptor of Apulia, who had fought the great battle with the Turcomans, had been appointed marshal of the order; but brother Etienne had unfortunately incurred the displeasure of the holy see, and pope Urban IV. cancelled the appointment. Etienne ventured to remonstrate, and was excommunicated for his impertinence.

A direct interference of this kind in the internal government and constitution of the order was quite unprecedented, and the Templars had spirit enough to support their marshal, and resist the pretensions of the pope. In the midst of this grave quarrel pope Urban died, and Clement IV., his successor, released brother Etienne from the dreadful sentence of excommunication, but at the same time addressed a haughty and severe letter to the Templars,

* Life of Bibars, or Bendocdar, by the cadi Mohieddin, secretary of state, abridged by Schafi-Ibn-Ali-Abbas. *Michaud*, extraits, p. 668, 669.

THOMAS BERABD. A. D. 1264.

reproaching them for their ingratitude, and asking them if they imagined that the Saviour of the world, when submitting his faithful flock to the spiritual superintendance and direction of the holy see, had intended to make an exception in their favour? "Know you not," says pope Clement, "that if the holy see was to cease for one instant to protect you, *you could never maintain yourselves against the bishops and the secular princes?* We pray to God that you may be convinced, as you ought to be, of the truth of this, and instead of carrying your presumption so far as to despise the authority of that power on which, after God, you entirely depend, you should hesitate not a moment to give it every possible mark of obedience and attachment."*

In the mean time, the war in Palestine between the Franks and the Mamlooks, continued to be prosecuted with various success. Bendocdar, after having wasted all the open country from Ascalon to Acre, retired to Cairo with his troops, and occupied himself with the affairs of Arabia, and with the reduction of Nubia, and the Templars and Hospitallers then became the assailants. They surprised and stormed the castle of Lilion, razed the walls and fortifications to the ground, and brought off three hundred prisoners of both sexes, together with a rich prize of sheep and oxen.† On the 15th of June, they marched as far as Ascalon, surprised and slew two mamlook emirs, and put twenty-eight of their followers to the sword.‡

* *Odoric. Rainald.* ad ann. 1265, n. 75.

† Sequenti anno xvi. Januarii, Hospitalarii et Templarii destruxerunt Lilion, multis quoque interfectis, adduxerunt prædam hominum utriusque sexus ad trecentos, multorumque animalium.—*Sanut.* p. 222.

‡ Hospitalarii et Templarii exiverunt usque Ascalonem omnia vastando et comburendo, et

THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1265.

They then turned their footsteps towards the Jordan, and on the 5th of November, they destroyed Bisan or Scythopolis, and laid waste with fire and sword all the valley of the Jordan, as far as the lake of Tiberias.*

In the depth of winter, Bendocdar collected his forces together, and advanced, by rapid marches, from Egypt, to take vengeance upon the Franks. He dexterously concealed his real intentions, made a long march during the night, and at morning's dawn presented himself before the city of Cæsarea. His troops descended into the ditch by means of ropes and ladders, and climbed the walls with the aid of iron hooks and spikes; they burst open the gates, massacred the sentinels, and planted the standard of the prophet on the ramparts, ere the inhabitants had time to rouse themselves from their morning slumbers. The citadel, however, still remained to be taken, and the garrison being forewarned, made an obstinate defence. The Arabian writers tell us, that the citadel was a strong and handsome fortification, erected by king Louis, and adorned with pillars and columns. It stood on a small neck of land which jutted out into the sea, and the ditches around the fortress were filled with the blue waters of the Mediterranean. Bendocdar planted huge catapults and cross-bows upon the tower of the cathedral, and shot arrows, darts, and stones, from them upon the battlements of the citadel. He encouraged the exertions of his soldiers by promises of reward, and gave robes of honour to his principal emirs. Weapons of war

inventos duos admiraldos occiderunt et xxviii. ex quadringentis qui cum eis erant, et sine damno, Dei gratiâ, redière quinta die Novembris.—Ib.

* Hospitalarii et Templarii cum militiâ Ptolemaidâ destruxerunt Bethsan et plura casalia et terram undique comburentes, hominum ac jumentorum magnam egerunt prædam.—*Ib.*

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were distributed in the most lavish manner, every captain of a hundred horse receiving for the use of himself and his men *four thousand arrows.**

During a dark winter's night the garrison succeeded in making their escape, and the next morning the Moslems poured into the citadel by thousands, and abandoned themselves to pillage. The fortifications were levelled with the dust, and Bendocdar assisted with his own hands in the work of demolition. He then detached some mamlook emirs with a body of cavalry against Caiphas, and proceeded himself to watch the movements of the Templars, and examine into the defences of the Pilgrim's Castle. Finding the place almost impregnable, and defended by a numerous garrison, he suddenly retraced his steps to the south, and presented himself before the strongly-fortified city of Arsouf, which belonged to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John.

The place was immediately invested, and every expedient that the art and ingenuity of man could devise was employed for its reduction. All the trees in the country were cut down, and mountains of wood were piled around the walls. The garrison was driven from the battlements by clouds of arrows; the ditch was filled up with beams of timber, huge stones, earth, rubbish, and entire trees, and the battering rams were then brought in contact with the walls. But the Hospitallers were not idle; they pierced a hole through the foundations of the walls; they poured oil, grease, pitch, naphtha, and a variety of inflammable substances through the orifice amongst the trees and timber which had been thrown into the ditch, ignited

* *Ibn Ferat.* chron. ad ann. Hejir. 662. *Marin Sanut.* p. 220. *Tyr.* Contin. hist.

the whole mass of rubbish, burnt all the battering rams and military machines, and cleared the ditch of the obstruction. THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1265.

The sultan constructed mines, and the Hospitallers foiled all his attempts with counter-mines. He then advanced to the foot of the walls by means of trenches and covered galleries, which were made to open into the ditch; he transported vast military machines from Damascus, and expended forty days in constant attacks. "I have seen Bendocdar," says the cadi Mohieddin, who was present at the siege, "marching alone from station to station, with his shield over his arm, now in the subterranean gallery, now in the scarped passage, and now on the sea-shore; he was to be seen everywhere, directing the progress of the attack, causing the machines to play, watching the conduct of his soldiers, and rewarding the most deserving. During this memorable siege, the sultan constantly passed alone and unattended through the lines and ranks of the army, and none durst take notice of him, or lift a finger on his approach."*

Arsouf was at last taken by storm; the greater part of the garrison was massacred, but one thousand prisoners were reserved to grace the triumph of the conqueror. Bendocdar razed the city to the ground, and then returned to Cairo. The unfortunate captive Hospitallers were compelled to march at the head of his triumphal procession, with their banners reversed, and with their crosses, broken into pieces, hung round their necks.†

At this period, the pope was fully occupied with various ambitious schemes in Europe, England was distracted with civil war, and Germany was without an emperor, and had three pretenders to the

* *Mohiddin*, ad ann. Hejir. 664, by *Ibn Ferat.*

† Mohieddin, hist. abridged by Schafi-Ibn-Ali-Abbas. *Michaud*, extraits, p. 673.

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imperial throne. Little attention was consequently paid to the demands of the Christians for succour, and the Templars wrote in a very desponding tone to the Pope concerning the future destiny of the Latin kingdom.

"Do not, dear brethren," says the holy pontiff in his reply, "be discouraged. Continue to conduct yourselves like brave men; the arm of the All Mighty has not been shortened; it will always be strong enough to render you victorious. Do not let the wars with which we are embarrassed in the west, cause you alarm; although compelled to attend to the affairs of all men in general, and of each one in particular, we have not lost sight of the christian cause in the east; on the contrary, it ever holds the first rank amongst the various matters which constantly occupy our attention."*

But whilst the holy pontiff was making mere empty assurances unaccompanied with corresponding exertions, Bendocdar was pushing on his career of conquest with a rapidity which promised speedily to leave the Christians without a single acre of ground in Palestine. The troops of the count of Tripoli were surprised and slaughtered; a detachment of Templars, which was proceeding from Safitza to the castle of the Kurds, was attacked and cut to pieces, and two of their castles in the neighbourhood of that place were besieged and carried by storm. Bendocdar had already despatched his bravest mamlook generals, at the head of a considerable body of forces, to blockade Beaufort and Saphet, the two strong fortresses of the order of the Temple, and he now advanced at the head of a vast army to conduct the siege of the latter place in person. On 21 Ramadan, the separate

* *Martene*, anecdot. tom. ii. col. 169. *Clementis*, epist. 110.

timbers of his military machines arrived from Damascus at Jacob's bridge, on the Jordan; the sultan sent down his emirs and part of his army, with hundreds of oxen, to drag them up the mountains to Saphet, and went with his principal officers to assist in the transport of them. "I worked by the sultan's side, and aided him with all my might," says the cadi Mohieddin; "being fatigued, I sat down. I began again, and was once more tired, and compelled to take rest, but the sultan continued to work without intermission, aiding in the transport of beams, bolts, and huge frames of timber."* THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1266.

The military engines were soon placed in position, and the siege hotly pressed. The Templars defended themselves with their customary spirit, and the Grand Master of the Temple ordered out one thousand two hundred cavalry from Acre to harass the besiegers, and create a diversion in favour of the besieged; but a treacherous spy conveyed intelligence to Bendocdar, which enabled him to surprise and massacre the whole force, and he returned to Saphet with the heads of the gallant knights stuck on the lances of his soldiers. At last, after an obstinate defence, during which many Moslems, say the Arabian writers, obtained the crown of martyrdom, the huge walls were thrown down, and a practicable breach was presented to the infidels; but that breach was guarded by an enemy which rarely swerved or quailed before any amount of force, and none could be found to mount to the assault. Bendocdar offered a reward of three hundred pieces of gold to the first man who entered the city, and he distributed robes of honour and riches to all who were foremost in the fight. Many more days were passed in constant fighting; fur-

* *Ibn Ferat.* ad ann. Hejir. 664.

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ther portions of the wall were thrown down by the efforts of the miners and the blows of the battering-rams, and the outer inclosure, or first line of the fortifications was, at last, taken.

The Templars retired into the citadel, but their efforts at defence were embarrassed by the presence of a crowd of two thousand fugitives, who had fled to Saphet for shelter, and they agreed to capitulate on condition that the lives and liberties of the Christians should be respected, and that they should be transported in safety to Acre. Bendocdar acceded to these terms, and solemnly promised to fulfil them; but as soon as he had got the citadel into his power, he offered to all the Templars the severe alternative of the Koran or death, and gave them until the following morning to make their election. The preceptor of Saphet, a holy monk and veteran warrior, assisted by two Franciscan friars, passed the night in pious exhortations to his brethren, conjuring them to prefer the crown of martyrdom to a few short years of miserable existence in this sinful world, and not to disgrace themselves and their order by a shameful apostacy.

At sun-rise, on the following morning, the Templars were led on to the brow of the hill, in front of the castle of Saphet, and when the first rays of the rising sun gilded the wooded summits of Mount Hermon, and the voice of the muezzin was heard calling the faithful to morning prayer, they were required to join in the Moslem chaunt, *La-i-la i-la Allah, Mahommed re sul Allah,* "There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his apostle;" the executioners drew near with their naked scimitars, but not a man of the noble company of knightly warriors, say the christian writers, would renounce his faith, and one thousand five hundred heads speedily

rolled at the feet of Bendocdar. "The blood," says Sanutus, "on that day flowed down the declivity like a rivulet of water." The preceptor of Saphet, the priests of the order, and brother Jeremiah, were beaten with clubs, flayed alive, and then beheaded!* THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1266.

The Arabian writers state that the lives of two of the garrison were spared, one being an Hospitaller whom the besieged had sent to Bendocdar to negotiate the treaty of surrender, and the other a Templar, named *Effreez Lyoub*, who embraced the Mahomedan faith, and was circumcised and entered into the service of the sultan.† They attempt to justify the slaughter of the remainder on the ground that they had themselves first broken the terms of the convention by attempting to carry away arms and treasure. "By the death of so many knights of both orders," says pope Clement IV., in one of his epistles, "the noble college of the Hospitallers and the illustrious chivalry of the Temple are almost destroyed, and I know not how we shall be able after this to find gentlemen and persons of quality sufficient to supply the places of such as

* Li Soudan lor failli des couvenances, et les fist tous occir fors le chastel. *Tyr.* Contin. hist. col. 742. At universi duorum Fratrum Minorum qui aderant monitis tota nocte confortati, martyrium potius elegerunt quam Christi negare fidem, fluebatque sanguis per montis declivium quasi aquæ rivulus; fuerunt autem ultra, D. C. Post hos vero fratrem Jacobum de Podio et fratrem Jeremiam, quia cæteros in fide firmaverant, et priorem Templariorum excoriari fecerunt, deinde fustigari, postremo ad locum cæterorum deducti, capite cæsi sunt. *Sanut.* p. 222. *Abulfeda*, apud *Wilkens*, p. 223. *De Guignes* hist. des Huns, tom. 4, p. 441. Decapitavit septies viginti et decem fratres Templi, et septingentos sexaginta septem viros *bellatores*, et quatuor fratres minores, exceptis mulieribus et parvulis, qui omnes æstimati fuerunt usque ad *tria millia!* Chron. Monast. S. Martin. Lemov. apud *Baluz.* miscell. p. 360.

† *Ibn Ferat* chron. Arab ad ann. Hejir. 664. *Schafi-Ibn-Ali-Abbas*, Michaud extraits, p. 674.

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have perished." * Immediately after the fall of Saphet, the infidels stormed the castles of Hounin and Tebnin, and took possession of the city of Ramleh.

The Grand Master of the Hospital now sued for peace, and entered into a separate and independent treaty with the infidels upon the following terms. The Hospitallers were to renounce the ancient tribute of one hundred pieces of gold paid to the order by the district of Aboukobays, or Bouktyr; also the annual tribute of four thousand pieces of gold paid to them by the sultans of Hems and Hamah; a tribute of twelve hundred pieces of gold, fifty thousand bushels of wheat, and fifty thousand bushels of barley annually rendered to them by the Assassins or Ismaelians of the mountains of Tripoli; and the several tributes paid by the cities or districts of Schayzar, Apamea, and Aintab, which consisted of five hundred crowns of Tyrian silver, two measures of wheat, and two pieces of silver for every two head of oxen pastured in the district.† These terms being arranged, the emir Fakir-eddin, and the cadi Schams'-eddin were sent to receive the oath of the Grand Master of the Hospital to fulfil them, and a truce was then accorded him for ten years, ten days, and ten months.‡

Bendocdar concentrated his forces together at Aleppo, and marched against the christian province of Armenia. The prince of Hamah blockaded Darbesak, which was garrisoned by the Knights

* *Martene* thesaur. anecd. tom. 2, col. 422.

† *Makrisi*, hist. Mamlook. *Schafi-Ibn-Ali-Abbas.* Chron. Arab. *Ibn-Ferat* ad ann. Hejir. 665. *Michaud*, p. 675, 742, 745, 785.

‡ *Ibn-Ferat*, chron. Arab. ad ann. Hejir. 665. *Schafi-Ibn-Ali-Abbas.* *Makrisi*, hist. Mamlook. *Michaud*, extraits Arabes, p. 675, 745, 785.

Templars, and forced the mountain passes leading into the ancient Cilicia. They marched with incredible rapidity to Sis, the capital of the country, which fell into their hands after a short siege. Leon, king of Armenia, was led away into captivity, together with his uncle, his son, and his nephew; many others of the royal family were killed, and some made their escape. All the castles of the Templars in Armenia were assaulted and taken, and the garrisons massacred. The most famous of these was the castle of Amoud, which was stormed after an obstinate defence, and every soul found in it was put to the sword.* The city of Sis was pillaged, and then delivered up to the flames; the inhabitants of all the towns were either massacred or reduced to slavery; their goods and possessions were divided amongst the soldiers, and the Moslems returned to Aleppo laden with booty and surrounded by captives fastened together with ropes. Great was the joy of Bendocdar when his mamlook general announced to him the progress of their destructive arms; the musicians were ordered to play, and the dancing girls to beat the tambour and dance before him. He made a triumphant entry into Damascus, preceded by his royal captives and many thousand prisoners bound with chains. "Thus did the sultan," says the Arabian historian, "*cut the sugar-canes of the Franks!*"

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From Damascus, Bendocdar proceeded to Saphet, and employed himself in rebuilding the fortifications of the city and castle. On the 1st of May he collected together a strong body of cavalry, marched the whole night, and at morning's dawn he divided them into two

* Chron. *Ibn-Ferat*, ad ann. Hejir. 665. *Makrisi*, hist. *Sanut.* p. 226. *Michaud*, extraits Arabes, p. 743. *Tyr.* contin. hist. col. 748.

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bodies, caused them to mount the banners and emblems of the Hospital and Temple,* and by this ruse he attempted to penetrate the east gate of Acre. But the cheat was fortunately discovered, the trumpets of the Templars sounded the alarm, and the gates were closed ere the Arab cavalry reached them; but the infidels surprised and slaughtered five hundred people outside the walls, whose heads were cut off and put into sacks. Amongst these were some poor old women who gained a livelihood by gathering herbs! The ferocious mamlooks laid waste all the gardens and cornfields around the town, and then retreated to Saphet. They were followed by the deputies of the Grand Master of the Temple and the inhabitants of Acre, who came to sue for peace. These deputies were introduced to the sultan through a grim and ghastly avenue of christian heads planted on the points of lances, and their petition was rejected with scorn and contempt. "The neighing of our horses," said the ferocious sultan, "shall soon strike you with deafness, and the dust raised by their feet shall penetrate to the inmost chambers of your dwellings."

Bendocdar collected together labourers, stonemasons, and woodcutters, and again proceeded to the plain of Acre. He pulled down all the houses and windmills, plucked up the vines, cut down all the fruit trees and burnt them, and filled up the wells.† This terrible

* MCCLXVII. Bendocdard soudan de Babylone vint devant Acre o tot son ost, le secont jor de mai, qui portoient les banieres du Temple et de l'Ospital. *Tyr.* contin. col. 742. Sanut. p. 222.

† *Ibn Ferat.* Michaud, extraits, p. 745, 785. Li soudan fist abatre les molins, et les tors des jardins, et fist tailler les arbres, et les jardins, et les vignes, qui estoient de fors les murs d'Acre. *Tyr.* contin. hist. col. 742. *Sanut.* p. 222. *Makrisi*, hist. Mamlook.

work of destruction occupied four days; and whilst it was going on, Bendocdar stood sentinel before the gates of Acre, with a lance in his hand, ready to cut down the first person that ventured out of the town. THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1268.

On the 7th of March the sultan stormed Jaffa, put the garrison to the sword, set fire to the churches, and burnt the crucifixes and crosses and holy relics of the saints. The Christians bewail the loss of the head of St. George and of the body of St. Christina.* From Jaffa, Bendocdar marched against the strongly fortified city of Beaufort, which belonged to the order of the Temple, and on the 19th Regeb (the 4th of April) the place was regularly invested. Twenty-six enormous military engines were planted around the walls, and the doctors of the law and the *Fakirs*, or teachers of religion, were invited to repair to the Moslem camp, and wield the sword in behalf of Islam. The town was defended by two citadels, the ancient and the new one. The former was garrisoned by the Templars, and the latter by the native militia. These last, after sustaining a short siege, set fire to their post and fled during the night. "As for the other citadel," says the cadi Mohieddin, "it made a long and vigorous defence." The walls were all thrown down, the castle was reduced to a mere heap of ruins, but those ruins were defended with astonishing skill and bravery by the Templars; and Bendocdar, after losing the flower of his army before the place, was reluctantly compelled to permit the garrison to march out, sword in hand, with all the honours of war. The for-

* Il prist la tete de S. Jorge, et fist ardoir le cors de Sainte Cristine, et d'iluec ala a Biaufort, et le prist des Templiers par force. *Tyr.* contin. col. 743. *Ibn-Ferat. Mohieddin Makrisi*, ad ann. Hejir. 666.

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tress was then razed to the ground so effectually that not a trace of it was left.*

The sultan now separated his army into several divisions, which were all sent in different directions through the principality of Tripoli to waste and destroy. All the churches and houses were set on fire; the trees were cut down, and the inhabitants were led away into captivity. A tower of the Templars, in the environs of Tripoli, was taken by assault, and every soul found in it was put to death. The different divisions of the army were then concentrated at Hems, to collect together and to divide their spoil. They were then again separated into three corps, which were sent by different routes against the vast and wealthy city of Antioch, the ancient "Queen of Syria."

The first division was directed to take a circuitous route by way of Darbesak, and approach Antioch from the north; the second was to march upon Suadia, and secure the mouth of the Orontes, to prevent all succour from reaching the devoted city by sea; and the third and last division, which was led by Bendocdar in person, proceeded to Apamea, and from thence marched down the left bank of the river Orontes along the base of the ancient Mons Casius, so as to approach and hem in Antioch from the south. On the 1st Ramadan, all these different divisions were concentrated together, and the city was immediately surrounded by a vast army of horse and foot, which cut off all communication between the town and the surrounding country, and exposed a population of 160,000 souls to all the horrors of famine. The famous stone bridge of nine arches, which spanned the rapid current of the Orontes, and communicated

* *Michaud*, p. 677, 786.

between the city and the right bank of the river, was immediately attacked; the iron doors which guarded the passage were burst open with the battering rams, and the standard of the prophet was planted beneath the great western gate. The Templars of the principality, under the command of their Grand Preceptor, made a vain effort to drive back the infidels and relieve the city. They sallied out of the town, with the constable of Antioch, but were defeated by the mamlook cavalry, after a sharp encounter in the plain, and were compelled to take refuge behind the walls. THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1268.

For three days successively did the sultan summon the city to surrender without receiving an answer, and for three days did he continue his furious assaults. "The attack," says the cadi Mohieddin, "was dreadful." On the fourth day the Moslems scaled the walls where they touch the side of the mountain, and rushed across the ramparts, sword in hand, into the city. Two emirs were stationed at each of the gates to intercept fugitives, and a hundred thousand Christians are computed to have been slain by the merciless infidels. About eight thousand warriors, accompanied by a dense throng of women and children, fled from the scene of carnage and death to the citadel, and there defended themselves with all the courage and energy of despair. Bendocdar at last granted them their lives, and they surrendered. They were bound with cords, and the long string of mournful captives passed in review before the sultan, who caused the scribes and notaries to take down the names of each of them.

After several days of pillage, all the booty was brought together in the plain of Antioch, and equally divided amongst all the soldiers of the army; the gold and silver were distributed by measure, and

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merchandize and property of all kinds, piled up in heaps, were drawn for by lot. The captive women and girls were distributed amongst the soldiery, and they were so numerous that each of the slaves of the conquerors was permitted to have a captive at his disposal. The sultan halted for several weeks in the plain, and permitted his soldiers to hold a large market, or fair, for the sale of their booty. This market was attended by Jews and pedlars from all parts of the East, who greedily bought up the rich property and costly valuables of the poor citizens of Antioch.

These last would have borne with fortitude and composure the loss of all their worldly goods and possessions, and the soft luxuries of this life, but when they were themselves put up to auction—when the mother saw her infant child handed over to the avaricious Jew for the paltry sum of five pieces of silver, and sold into irredeemable bondage, the tears and lamentations, and the bitter cries that resounded through the plain, touched even the cold and pitiless hearts of the Moslems. "It was," says the cadi Mohiedden, "a fearful and a heart-rending sight. Even the hard stones were softened with grief." He tells us, that the captives were so numerous, that a fine hearty boy might be purchased for *twelve* pieces of silver, and a little girl for *five!* Who shall paint the agony of the christian mothers exposed with their young families for sale, by the rude Moslem soldiery, in the blood-stained plain and city of Antioch; and who describe the feelings of parents and children, brothers and sisters, who saw themselves about to be finally separated and deprived of all further intercourse and communion on this side the grave?

When the work of pillage had been completed, when all the ornaments and decorations had been carried away from the churches,

and the lead torn from the roofs, Antioch was fired in six or seven different places, amid the loud thrilling shouts of *Allah Acbar*, "*God is victorious.*" The great churches of St. Paul and St. Peter burnt with terrific fury for several days, and the vast and venerable city was left without a habitation, and without an inhabitant.* Thus fell Antioch, one hundred and seventy years after its recovery from the dominion of the infidels by the crusaders, under the command of the valiant Godfrey, Boemond, and Tancred. THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1268.

Near six centuries of Moslem domination have now again rolled over the ancient Queen of the East, but the genius of destruction which accompanied the footsteps of the armies of the ferocious Bendocdar has ever since presided over the spot. The once fair and flourishing capital of Syria, the ancient "throne of the successors of Alexander, the seat of Roman government in the east, which had been decorated by Cæsar with the titles of free, and holy, and inviolate," is, at this day, nothing more than a miserable mud village; and the ancient and illustrious church of Antioch, which, in the fourth century of the christian era, numbered one hundred thousand persons, now consists only of a few Greek families, who still cling to the true faith amid the insults and persecutions of the infidels.

Immediately after the destruction of the city, Bendocdar caused a terrible and insulting letter to be written to the prince of Antioch, who was at Tripoli, to acquaint him with the fall of his once proud and flourishing capital. "Since not a soul has escaped to tell you what has happened," says the haughty sultan, "we will undertake

* *Ibn-Ferat. Makrisi. Abulfeda. Mohieddin*, ad ann. Hejir. 666. *Michaud*, extraits, p. 748, 749.

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the pleasing task of informing you. . . . We have slain all whom you appointed to defend Antioch. We have crushed your knights beneath the feet of our horses, and have given up your provinces to pillage: your gold and silver have been divided amongst us by the quintal, and four of your women have been bought and sold for a crown. There is not a single christian in the province that does not now march bound before us, nor a single young girl that is not in our possession. Your churches have been made level with the dust, and our chariot wheels have passed over the sites of your dwellings. If you had seen the temples of your God destroyed, the crosses broken, and the leaves of the gospel torn and scattered to the winds of heaven; if you had seen your Mussulman enemy marching into your tabernacles, and immolating upon your shrines, and your altars, the deacon, the priest, and the patriarch; if you had seen your palaces delivered to the flames, and the bodies of the dead consumed by the fire of this world, whilst their souls were burning in the everlasting fire of hell; doubtless, you would have exclaimed, *Lord, I am become but as dust;* your soul would have been ready to start from its earthly tenement, and your eyes would have rained down tears sufficient to have extinguished the fires that we have kindled around you."*

The christian writers slightly vary from the Arabian authorities in their account of the fall of Antioch. They tell us that the city was taken on the 27th of May, and that a hundred thousand Christians were led away into captivity, and fifteen thousand cruelly massacred.† Immediately after the fall of the city, the Templars

* *Ibn Ferat.* chron. Arab. ad ann. Hejir. 666. *Makrisi*, hist. Mamlook.

† Et furent occis dans la cité puis qu'ele fu prise xvii milles personnes, ou plus, et furent

abandoned Bagras, a rich and flourishing town, situate about sixteen miles to the north of Antioch, on the road to Armenia and Cilicia, which had belonged to the order for more than a century. The place was immediately occupied by the soldiers of the sultan, who found only an old woman left upon the spot. This town of the Templars, Mohieddin tells us, had long been a source of intense anxiety and annoyance to the inhabitants of Aleppo, in consequence of the frequent inroads and incursions of the military friars into their territory. "Over and over again," says he, "it had been attacked, but the Templars foiled the utmost efforts of the faithful, until, at last, Providence gave it into our hands." The Templars also abandoned the castles of Gaston and Noche de Rusol, and the territory of Port Bounel, at the entrance of Armenia. The towns of Darbesak, Sabah, Al Hadid, and the sea-port of Gabala, successively fell into the hands of Bendocdar, and the whole country from Tripoli to Mount Taurus was made desolate, the houses were set on fire, the fruit-trees were cut down, and the churches were levelled with the dust.

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The wealthy and populous maritime towns of Laodicea, Tripoli, Tortosa, Beirout, Tyre, and Sidon, however, still remained to the Christians, and as these cities were strongly fortified, and the christian fleets kept the command of the sea, Bendocdar consented to postpone their destruction for a brief period, and to grant separate truces to them in consideration of the payment of large sums of money.*

pris homes et fames et enfans, que du siecle que de religion, plus de cent mille, et li Templiers abandonnerent lor Chastiaus II. Gaston et Noche de Rusol, et la terre de Port-Bounel a l'entrée d'Ermenie. *Tyr.* Contin. hist. col. 743. *Marin Sanut.* p. 223.

* Extraits de *Makrisi* par *M. Michaud*, p. 745—785. *Ibn Ferat.* ad ann. Hejir. 665.

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A terrible famine, consequent upon the ravages of the infidels, afflicted Syria and Palestine, and many of those whom the sword had spared, now died of hunger.

Louis IX., king of France, was deeply affected with the intelligence of the sorrows and misfortunes of the Latin Christians. He attended an assembly of Preceptors of the Temple in France, to devise means of forwarding succour to the Holy Land, and caused a quantity of corn to be sent from Languedoc to the famishing Christians.* He moreover determined, notwithstanding the disastrous result of his expedition into Egypt, to embark in another crusade, and once again to lead an army to the relief of Palestine. At his earnest solicitation, prince Edward of England assumed the cross, and prepared to join his standard at the head of a small army of English crusaders.

Bendocdar, on the other hand, after attending for a brief period to the cares of government in Egypt, had returned to Palestine to pursue his career of slaughter and conquest; he surprised and cut to pieces several bands of Christians, and made his public entry into Damascus, preceded by many hundred ghastly heads stuck on the points of lances, and by a vast number of weeping captives of both sexes, and of every age. He then proceeded to Hamah and Kafarthab, and attempted to undertake the siege of the strong fortress of Merkab, but the winter rains and the snow on the mountain compelled him to abandon the enterprise. He then made an attack upon the castle of the Kurds, which belonged to the Hospitallers, but receiving intelligence of the sailing of the expedition of king Louis, who had left the ports of France with an army of sixty

* Hist. gen. de Languedoc, tom. iii. p. 585, preuves.

thousand men, and a fleet of eighteen hundred vessels; he hurried with all his forces to Egypt to protect that country against the French. THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1270.

Instead of proceeding direct to the Holy Land, king Louis was unfortunately induced to steer towards the coast of Africa, with the wild hope of baptizing the king of Tunis, and speedily fell a victim, as is well known, to the insalubrity of the climate. His gallant army, decimated by sickness, immediately returned to France, and all the hopes and joyous expectations of the Latin Christians were once more cruelly disappointed.

The Holy See had now been vacant for more than two years, the college of cardinals having been unable to agree in the choice of a visible head for the church, and no voice consequently had issued from the throne of St. Peter, in behalf of the Holy Land, in the hour of its utmost need. Immediately after the death of the king of France and the departure of his army from the coast of Africa, Bendocdar returned to Palestine. He halted at Ascalon, and completed the destruction of the fortifications of that place; he stormed Castel Blanc, a fortress of the Templars,* and appeared with his Mamlook cavalry, in warlike array, before the gates of Tripoli. He ravaged the surrounding country, and then retired into winter quarters, leading away many christian prisoners of both sexes into captivity. The next year he stormed the fortified town of Safitza, and laid siege to Hassan el Akrad, or the castle of the Kurds. Vast military machines were transported across the Orontes from Hamah and Hems, and were planted around the walls.

The castle of the Kurds was a strong fortification perched on the

* *De Guignes*, hist. des Huns, tom. iv. p. 146.

THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1271.

summit of a lofty mountain overlooking the plain of the Orontes, and had long been the terror of the neighbouring infidel states. It was seated on the edge of a rich and fertile district about twenty-five miles from Hamah, and the same distance from Hems, and the garrison maintained on the spot kept both those cities in check, and made continual inroads into all the neighbouring provinces. The place was garrisoned by the Knights Hospitallers, and made a vigorous defence. One of Bendocdar's emirs was killed by a huge stone flung from a military engine on the battlements whilst he was kneeling in prayer in his tent, and the Egyptian troops were driven back in repeated assaults. The sultans of Hamah and Sohyoun, and the prince of the Ismaelians joined the standard of Bendocdar under the walls of the fortress, and the brave garrison, deprived of all succour, was at last overpowered, and put to the sword.*

In the mean time, prince Edward of England had sailed to the coast of Africa to join the standard of king Louis; but finding that monarch dead, he continued his voyage to Palestine, and arrived at Acre at the commencement of the summer, with a small but gallant band of fifteen hundred knights and foot-soldiers. The Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital immediately rallied around his standard, and on the 12th of June, the prince marched out of Acre, and took the field at the head of a small but veteran army of nine thousand men. He burnt Saint George, a fortified post of the infidels, and destroyed the tower of Caco, near Cæsarea, in which Bendocdar had established a garrison. A tribe of migratory Turcomans, who were pasturing their cattle in the neighbouring plain,

* *Makrisi. Ibn Ferat.* ad ann. Hejir. 670. *D'Herbelot,* Bib. Orient. p. 675.

was surprised and massacred, and five thousand oxen, horses, sheep, and other beasts, were captured and brought back to Acre.*

The expedition of king Louis to Africa, the arrival of prince Edward in Palestine, and the exaggerated rumours which were industriously spread abroad by the Christians of immense preparations in Europe for the relief of the Holy Land alarmed Bendocdar, and disposed him to accede to a treaty of peace. On the 21st Ramadan, (April 22nd,) a truce was accorded to the inhabitants of Acre for the space of ten years and ten months, but only the town, the plain, and the road to Nazareth, were comprised in the treaty.†

The ranks of the English army were thinned by sickness, and on 18th of June their young chief was stabbed with a poisoned dagger by an assassin, hired by the infidels for his destruction. Prince Edward, though dangerously wounded, struck the assailant to the ground, and he was immediately despatched by the guards.‡ The same day the prince made his will; it is dated at Acre, June 18, A. D. 1272, and Brother Thomas Berard, Grand Master of the Temple appears as an attesting witness. The life of the future monarch of England, however, was happily preserved, and the effects of the poison are said to have been obviated by an antidote administered by the Grand Master of the Temple.

* *Tyr.* contin. hist. col. 745. *Sanut.* p. 224.

† *Makrisi.* Extrait de *Michaud*, p. 757, et n'avoit en la trive que le plain d'Acre sans plus, et le chemin de Nazareth. *Tyr.* contin. hist. col. 746.

‡ En testimoniaunce de la queu chose, a ceo testament avons fet mettre nostre sel, et avons pries les honurables Bers frere Hue, Mestre de l'Hospital, et frere Thomas Berard, Mestre du Temple, ke a cest escrit meisent ausi lur seus, etc. Acta *Rymeri*, tom. i. p. 885, 886, ad ann. 1272.

THOMAS BERARD. A.D. 1272.

On the 14th of September, the prince returned to Europe, and thus terminated the last expedition undertaken for the relief of Palestine.

Whilst Edward was pursuing his voyage to England, his father, king Henry III., died, and the council of the realm, composed of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the bishops and barons of the kingdom, assembled in the Temple at London, and swore allegiance to the prince. They there caused him to be proclaimed king of England, and, with the consent of the queen-mother, they appointed Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, and the earls of Cornwall and Gloucester, guardians of the realm. Letters were written from the Temple to acquaint the young sovereign with the death of his father, and many of the acts of the new government emanated from the same place.*

King Henry the Third was, as before mentioned, a great benefactor to the Templars. In addition to the donations previously specified, he granted them the manors of Sutton, Dartfeld, and Halgel, in Kent, and lands, and churches, and annual fairs, and weekly markets, at Baldok, Wetherby, in Yorkshire, and various other places.†

The order of the Temple had at this period been put under a new regulation, with regard to its temporalities. It was found that the expenses of the preceptors or administrators in Europe, frequently swallowed up the whole income of the estates committed to their charge, and in a general chapter, holden in the Pilgrim's Castle, it

* *Trivet*, ad ann. 1272. *Walsingham*, p. 43. Acta *Rymeri*, tom. i. p. 889, ad ann. 1272, & tom, 2, p. 2.

† Monast. Angl. vol. vi., part 2, p. 800—844.

was determined that the different preceptories and administrations should be valued, and that the officers placed at the head of them should be compelled to pay, annually, a fixed sum into the general treasury. THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1272.

The brethren of the order were in the habit of obtaining letters of recommendation from the European sovereigns to their superiors, in order to facilitate their advancement to the dignity of preceptor, and from the general prevalence of these *litteræ commendaticiæ*, and the frequent use in them of the word *commendamus*, appear to have arisen the term Commander, which gradually superseded the old title of Preceptor. These letters became so frequent that the superiors of the order were compelled to resort to the pope to put a stop to the practice. By refusing the request contained in them, they frequently offended some powerful person who had been a great benefactor to the order, and by acceding to it they would constantly be compelled to overlook the superior claims of other members of the fraternity. Pope Clement IV. accordingly, shortly before his death, fulminated a bull forbidding the Grand Master and Grand Preceptors to confer any commandery upon their brethren, by virtue of letters of recommendation from secular kings and princes, and other great men of the world, and denouncing the penalty of excommunication against all those of the brethren who sought to obtain their advancement to posts of honour and dignity in the order by means of such letters.*

The holy see, after a long vacancy of two years and nine months, had been filled by Thibauld, archdeacon of Liege, of the noble house of Viconti, whose piety had carried him to the Holy Land.

* Regulæ constitutiones et privilegia Ord Cisterc. p. 481.

THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1272.

He was at Acre when he received the instrument announcing his appointment to the chair of St. Peter, from the hands of Brother Etienne de Sisi, Grand Preceptor of Apulia, who had been sent out from Italy by the cardinals, to announce to him his elevation to the pontifical dignity. The new pope, from his long residence in Palestine, was well acquainted with the wants and necessities of the Latin kingdom, and, before taking his departure for Europe, he promised the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital to use all the authority with which God had clothed him to procure them succours. He is said indeed to have exclaimed aloud, as he went on board the ship that was to convey him to Italy, "O Jerusalem, holy city, if ever I forget thee, let me be blotted out of the remembrance of men."

On his arrival in Italy, accordingly, the pope exerted himself to raise an army for the relief of Palestine, and applied to Philip le Hardi, king of France, for the loan of 25,000 marks towards the expenses of the armament. He sent a circular letter to all the Grand Preceptors or Commanders of the Temple, announcing his intention to contract the loan on behalf of the order. "With the advice of the cardinals," says the holy pontiff, "we have promised the king of France that, if it be necessary, you will make all your houses and possessions in his dominions chargeable with the repayment of the 25,000 marks, which we are about to borrow of him for the purpose of expediting troops to Palestine. This engagement need not make you feel uneasy, as the holy see undertakes to reimburse the first advances."*

On the 21st of May, the holy pontiff testified his esteem for the

* *Odor. Rainald.* ad ann. 1272.

Templars, by solemnly confirming all their privileges and immunities, and all the grants and donations which had been made to the order by secular kings and princes, and by the prelates of the church.* He also continued vigorously to exert himself to obtain succour for them from amongst the western nations, and wrote urgent letters to the European sovereigns for aid.† "During the stay," says the pope, in his letter to Philip III., king of France, "that we made in the Holy Land, we had frequent conferences with the Templars and Hospitallers, concerning the measures to be taken to prevent its total ruin, and we have subsequently discoursed on the same subject with our brethren the cardinals. Some temporary relief must be immediately afforded until more important succour can be raised, which we hope to obtain, by means of a general council."

THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1272.

The bulls for the convocation of this council were disseminated throughout the East and West, and were addressed to all the archbishops and sovereign princes of Christendom, exhorting them to remember the innumerable kindnesses heaped upon them by their blessed Redeemer, and not to permit the enemies of the cross, and the persecutors of Christ's faithful flock, to root out the christian name and the christian faith from that sacred land which had been consecrated by his blood.‡ The council was directed to assemble in the month of May, A. D. 1274.

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. i. p. 883.

† Ib. p. 881.

‡ Quod rex et omnis populus christianus tam viri ecclesiastici quam seculares parati sunt ad kalendas Maii, A. D. MCCLXXIV. infra biennium ad ingrediendum Terram Sanctam et aggrediendum inimicos Christi. Acta Rymeri, tom. 1, p. 881, 883.

THOMAS BERARD. A. D. 1272.

The invasion of the Tartars, who had crossed the Euphrates and overspread all the north of Syria, and the cares and anxieties of an unsettled reign, occupied and distracted the attention of Bendocdar, and the Latin kingdom consequently continued in the enjoyment of a brief interval of tranquillity and peace.

The Grand Master of the Temple, Brother Thomas Berard, died at Acre on the 8th of April, and on the 13th of May the general chapter of the Templars assembled in the Pilgrim's Castle, chose for his successor Brother WILLIAM DE BEAUJEU, Grand Preceptor of Apulia. The late Vice-Master, Brother William de Poucon, was sent to Europe with Brother Bertrand de Fox, to announce to him the tidings of his elevation to the chief dignity of the order.*

WILLIAM DE BEAUJEU. A. D. 1273.

The following year William de Beaujeu, accompanied by the Grand Master of the Hospital, who had arrived in Europe, proceeded to Lyons, to attend the general council which had been summoned by the pope to provide succour for the Holy Land. The two Grand Masters took precedence of all the ambassadors and peers present at that famous assembly. It was determined that a new crusade should be preached, that all ecclesiastical dignities and benefices should be taxed to support an armament, and that the sovereigns of Europe should be compelled by ecclesiastical censures to suspend their private quarrels, and afford succour to the desolate land of promise. More than a thousand bishops, archbishops, and

* MCCLXXIII. a viii. jors d'Avril morut frere Thomas Berart, Maistre du Temple le jor de la notre dame de Mars, et fu fait Maistre a xiii. jors de May, frere Guillaume de Bieaujeu qui estoit outre *Commandeor* du Temple en Pouille, et alerent por lui querire frere Guillaume de Poucon, qui avait tenu lieu de Maistre, et frere Bertrand de Fox; et frere Gonfiere fu fait *Commandeor* gran tenant lieu de Maistre.—Contin. hist. apud *Martene*, tom. 5, col. 746, 747.

ambassadors from the different princes and potentates of Europe, graced the assembly with their presence. From Lyons, William de Beaujeu proceeded to England, and called together a general chapter of the order at London. Whilst resident at the Temple in that city, he received payment of a large sum of money, which the young king Edward had borrowed of the Templars during his stay at Acre."*

WILLIAM DE BEAUJEU. A. D. 1275.

Pope Gregory X. continued vigorously to exert himself in the promotion of the crusade. He employed the money which he had borrowed of the king of France, in the name of the Templars, in chartering ships to convey troops to Palestine. Marseilles, Genoa, and Venice, engaged to furnish three vessels each for the contemplated expedition, and many princes, nobles, and knights, were induced to assume the cross, but the holy pontiff unfortunately died in the midst of his exertions, and with him expired all the hopes and expectations of the Latin Christians of effectual aid and assistance from Europe. The enthusiasm which had been partially awakened died away; those who had assumed the cross forgot their engagements, and the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital at last returned without succour, in sorrow and disappointment, to the far East.

William de Beaujeu reached Acre on St. Michael's day, A. D. 1275, attended by a valiant band of Templars, drawn from the preceptories of England and France. Shortly after his arrival Bendocdar was poisoned, and was succeeded by his son, Malek Said.† Malek Said only mounted the throne to descend from it.

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 2, p. 34, ad ann. 1274.

† *Ibn Ferat* chron. ad ann. hejir. 676. *D'Herbelot*, Bib. Orient. p. 205.

WILLIAM DE BEAUJEU. A. D. 1282.

He was deposed by the rebellious mamlooks, and the sceptre was grasped by Malek-Mansour-Kelaoun, the bravest and most distinguished of the emirs.

As there was now no hope of recovering the towns, castles, and territories taken by Bendocdar, the Grand Master of the Temple directed all his energies to the preservation of the few remaining possessions of the Christians in the Holy Land. At the expiration of the ten years' truce, he entered into various treaties with the infidels. One of these, called "the peace of Tortosa," is expressed to be made between sultan Malek-Mansour-Kelaoun, and his son Malek-Salek-Ali, "honour of the world and of religion," of the one part, and Afryz Dybadjouk, (William de Beaujeu,) Grand Master of the order of the Templars, of the other part. It relates to the territories and possessions of the Temple of Tortosa, and provides for their security and freedom from molestation by the infidels. The truce is prolonged for ten years and ten months from the date of the execution of the treaty, (A. D. 1282,) and the contracting parties strictly bind themselves to make no irruptions into each other's territories during the period. To prevent mistakes, the lands and villages, towers, corn-mills, gardens, brooks, and plantations, belonging to the Templars are specified and defined, together with the contiguous possessions of the Moslems. By this treaty, the Templars engage not to rebuild any of their citadels, towers, or fortresses, nor to cut any new ditch or fosse in their province of Tortosa.

Another treaty entered into between William de Beaujeu and the infidels, is called the peace of Acre. It accords to the Christians Caiphas and seven villages, the province of Mount Carmel, the

town and citadel of Alelyet, the farms of the Hospitallers in the province of Cæsarea, the half of Alexandretta, the village of Maron, &c., and confirms the Templars in the possession of Sidon and its citadel, and its fifteen cantons. WILLIAM DE BEAUJEU. A. D. 1283.

By this treaty, sultan Malek Mansour accords to the inhabitants of Acre a truce of ten years, ten months, and ten days; and he swore to observe its provisions and stipulations in the presence of the Grand Master of the Temple and the vizir Fadhad.* But all these treaties were mere delusions. Bendocdar had commenced the ruin of the Christians, and sultan Kelaoun now proceeded to complete it.

The separate truces and treaties of peace which Bendocdar had accorded to the maritime towns of Palestine, in return for payments of money, were encumbered with so many minute provisions and stipulations,† that it was almost impossible for the Christians to avoid breaking them in some trifling unimportant particular; and sultan Kelaoun was not long without a colourable pretence for recommencing hostilities. The strong fortress of Merkab, or Margat, which belonged to the Hospitallers, and commanded the coast road from Laodicea to Tripoli, was one of the most important posts in Syria, and had hitherto resisted all the attacks of the infidels. Kelaoun determined to make himself master of the place, and soon found a pretext for maintaining that the Hospitallers were no longer entitled to the truce which they had purchased

* Extracts from the life of the sultan Malek-Mansour-Kelaoun, by the cadi Mohieddin. *Michaud*, Bibliographie des Croisades, tom 2, p. 685—691.

† Copies of many of these treaties are given in the life of Sultan Malek-Mansour-Kelaoun by Mohieddin. *Michaud*, Bibliog. des Croisades, tom. 2, p. 681—691.

WILLIAM DE BEAUJEU. A.D. 1285.

with such large concessions from Bendocdar. He secretly prepared military machines at Damascus, transported them across the mountains to Merkab, and collected together expert miners and casters of Greek fire from all parts of Asia. The Hospitallers made a gallant defence, but Kelaoun conducted the siege in person with great skill, "and the angels fought," says the cadi Mohieddin, "on the side of Islam." The walls and fortifications were undermined and thrown into the ditch, and when all the defences had been entirely ruined, the Hospitallers were permitted to march out, with their arms in their hands, to the city of Tripoli. At eight o'clock on the morning of the 18th Rebi, when the muezzins were calling the faithful to prayer, the *Sandjak Schereef*, or victorious standard of Mahomet, was elevated upon the ramparts, and the kneeling thousands who clustered the ruined battlements of the christian fortress "returned thanks and praises to the eternal God who had exterminated the adorers of the Messiah." * The sultan rebuilt the fortifications, placed a garrison of a thousand men on the spot, and then sought out a pretext for putting an end to the truce which the count of Tripoli had purchased of Bendocdar by the payment of eleven thousand pieces of gold. He maintained that a watch-tower had been erected on the coast between Merkab and Tortosa, in contravention of the stipulation which forbad the erection of new fortifications; and he accordingly marched with his army to lay siege to the rich and flourishing city of Laodicea.

The Arabian writers tell us that Laodicea was one of the most commercial cities of the Levant, and was considered to be the rival of Alexandria. A terrible earthquake, which had thrown down the

* *Michaud*, Bib. des Croisades, p. 696, 697.

fortifications, and overturned the castle at the entrance of the port, unfortunately facilitated the conquest of the place, and Laodicea fell almost without a struggle. The town was pillaged and set on fire, and those of the inhabitants who were unable to escape by sea, were either slaughtered or reduced to slavery, or driven out homeless wanderers from their dwellings, to perish with hunger and grief in the surrounding wilderness. WILLIAM DE BEAUJEU. A.D. 1287.

Shortly after the fall of Laodicea, the castle of Krak, which belonged to the Hospitallers, was besieged and stormed; the garrison was put to the sword, and some other small places on the sea-coast met with a similar fate. Kelaoun then returned to Damascus, and advanced against the Tartars, who were ravaging the plain of the Orontes, and drove them back into the vast deserts bordering the Euphrates. He afterwards proceeded to Egypt, to control the turbulent spirit of the mamlooks; and after a short stay in that country, he again advanced across the desert into Palestine, to complete the destruction and annihilation of the Franks.

Neither the faith of treaties, nor the humble submission of Boemond, count of Tripoli, could save his flourishing capital from pillage and destruction. On the 13th Moharran (9th of February) the sultan marched against Tripoli at the head of ten thousand horse, and thirty-three thousand foot. The separate timbers of nineteen enormous military engines were transported in many hundred wagons drawn by oxen; and fifteen hundred engineers and fire-work manufacturers were employed to throw the terrible Greek fire and combustible materials, contained in brass pots, into the city. After thirty-four days of incessant labour, the walls were

WILLIAM DE BEAUJEU. A. D. 1289.

undermined and thrown into the ditch, and the engineers poured an incessant stream of Greek fire upon the breach, whilst the Moslems below prepared a safe path for the passage of the cavalry. Brother John de Breband, preceptor of Tripoli, fought upon the ramparts with a few knights and serving brethren of the order of the Temple who were attached to the preceptory of Tripoli; but they were speedily overthrown, and the Arab cavalry dashed through the breach into the town, with loud shouts of *Allah acbar*, GOD is victorious! Upwards of one thousand Christians fell by the sword, and the number of captives was incalculable. Twelve hundred trembling women and children were crowded together for safety in a single magazine of arms, and the conquerors were embarrassed with the quantity of spoil and booty. Four thousand bales of the richest silks were distributed amongst the soldiers, together with ornaments and articles of luxury and refinement, which astonished the rude simplicity of the Arabs.

When the city had been thoroughly ransacked, orders were issued for its destruction. Then the Moslem soldiers were to be seen rushing with torches and pots of burning naphtha to set fire to the churches, and the shops, and the warehouses of the merchants; and Tripoli was speedily enveloped in one vast, fearful, wide-spreading conflagration. The command for the destruction of the fortifications was likewise issued, and thousands of soldiers, stone-masons, and labourers, were employed in throwing down the walls and towers. The Arabian writers tell us that the ramparts were so wide that three horsemen could ride abreast upon them round the the town.* Many of the inhabitants had escaped by sea during

* *Makrisi, Abulfida. Ibn-Ferat*, ad ann. Hejir. 688. *Michaud*, tom. 2, p. 760, 806.

the siege, and crowds of fugitives fled before the swords of the Moslems, to take refuge on the little island of Saint Nicholas at the entrance of the port. They were there starved to death; and when Abulfeda visited the island a few days after the fall of Tripoli, he found it covered with the dead bodies of the unburied Christians. WILLIAM DE BEAUJEU. A. D. 1290.

Thus fell Tripoli, with its commerce, its silk manufactories, churches, and public and private buildings. Everything that could contribute to prosperity in peace, or defence in war, perished beneath the sword, the hammer, and the pick-axe of the Moslems.

In the time of the crusaders, the port of Tripoli was crowded with the fleets of the Italian republics, and carred on a lucrative commerce with Marseilles, Amalfi, Genoa, Pisa, Venice, and the cities of the Grecian islands; but the rich stream of commerce hath never since revisited the inhospitable shore, and the silent port is no longer enlivened with the industry of the west.

Shortly after the fall of Tripoli, Gabala, Beirout, and all the maritime towns and villages between Sidon and Laodicea, fell into the hands of the infidels; and sultan Kelaoun was preparing to attack the vast and populous city of Acre, when death terminated his victorious career.*

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Aschraf Khalil, who hastened to execute the warlike projects of his father. The new sultan strenuously exerted himself to arouse the religious zeal and warlike fanaticism of the Arabians. The night before he left Cairo to place himself at the head of his troops, he assembled the ulemas, the cadis, and the readers, in the sumptuous mosque that had been erected over the tomb of his father, and passed the night

* *Makrisi, Ibn-Ferat,* ad ann. Hejir. 689.

WILLIAM DE BEAUJEU. A.D. 1291.

in the study of the Koran, and in offering up prayers to Mahomet for the success of his arms. He then made abundant alms-giving, collected his troops together, and marched across the desert to Damascus, where he was joined by Hosam'eddin Ladjin, viceroy of Syria, Modaffer, prince of Hems, and Saifeddin, lord of Baalbec, with the respective forces under their command. Ninety-two enormous military engines had been constructed at Damascus, which were transported across the country by means of oxen; and in the spring of the year, after the winter rains had subsided, sultan Khalil marched against Acre at the head of sixty thousand horse, and a hundred and forty thousand foot.

"An innumerable people of all nations and every tongue," says a chronicle of the times, "thirsting for christian blood, were assembled together from the deserts of the East and the South; the earth trembled beneath their footsteps, and the air was rent with the sound of their trumpets and cymbals. The sun's rays reflected from their shields, gleamed on the distant mountains, and the points of their spears shone like the innumerable stars of heaven. When on the march, their lances presented the appearance of a vast forest rising from the earth, and covering all the landscape." . . . "They wandered round about the walls, spying out their weaknesses and defects; some barked like dogs, some roared like lions, some lowed and bellowed like oxen, some struck drums with twisted sticks after their fashion, some threw darts, some cast stones, some shot arrows and bolts from cross-bows." * On the 5th of April, the place was regularly invested. No rational hope of saving it could be entertained; the sea was

* De excidio urbis Aconis apud *Martene*, vet. script. tom. 5, col. 767.

open; the harbour was filled with christian vessels, and with the galleys of the Temple and the Hospital; yet the two great monastic and military orders scorned to retire to the neighbouring and friendly island of Cyprus; they refused to desert, even in its last extremity, that cause which they had sworn to maintain with the last drop of their blood. For a hundred and seventy years their swords had been constantly employed in defending the Holy Land from the profane tread of the unbelieving Moslem; the sacred territory of Palestine had been everywhere moistened with the blood of the best and bravest of their knights, and, faithful to their vows and their chivalrous engagements, they now prepared to bury themselves in the ruins of the last stronghold of the christian faith. WILLIAM DE BEAUJEU. A. D. 1291.

After the loss of Jerusalem, the city of Acre became the metropolis of the Latin Christians, and was adorned with a vast cathedral, with numerous stately churches, and elegant buildings, and with acqueducts, and an artificial port. The houses of the rich merchants were decorated with pictures and choice pieces of sculpture, and boasted of the rare advantage of glass windows. An astonishing, and probably an exaggerated, account has been given us of the wealth and luxury of the inhabitants. We read of silken canopies and curtains streched on cords to protect the luxurious idler from the scorching sunbeams, of variegated marble fountains, and of rich gardens and shady groves, scented with the delicious orange blossom, and adorned with the delicate almond flower; and we are told that the markets of the city could offer the produce of every clime, and the interpreters of every tongue. The vast and stupendous fortifications consisted of a double wall, strengthened at proper

WILLIAM DE BEAUJEU. A. D. 1291.

intervals with lofty towers, and defended by the castle called the King's Tower, and by the convent or fortress of the Temple. Between the ramparts extended a large space of ground, covered with the chateaus, villas, and gardens of the nobility of Galilee, the counts of Tripoli and Jaffa, the lords of Tyre and Sidon, the papal legate, the duke of Athens, and the princes of Antioch. The most magnificent edifices within the town were, the cathedral church of St. Andrew, the churches of St. Saba, St. Thomas, St. Nicholas, and St. John, the tutelar saint of the city; the abbey of St. Clare, the convents of the Knights Hospitallers and the Knights Templars, and various monasteries and religious houses.*

William de Beaujeu, the Grand Master of the Temple, a veteran warrior of a hundred fights, took the command of the garrison, which amounted to about twelve thousand men, exclusive of the forces of the Temple and the Hospital, and a body of five hundred foot and two hundred horse, under the command of the king of Cyprus. These forces were distributed along the walls in four divisions, the first of which was commanded by Hugh de Grandison, an English knight. The siege lasted six weeks, during the whole of which period the sallies and the attacks were incessant. Neither by night nor by day did the shouts of the assailants and the noise of the military engines cease; huge stones and beams of timber and pots of fire were continually hurled into the city; the walls were battered from without, and the foundations were sapped by miners, who were incessantly labouring to advance their works. More than six hundred catapults, balistæ, and other instruments of destruction, were directed against the fortifications; and the bat-

* *Hermann Cornarius*, Collect d'Ekard.

tering machines were of such immense size and weight, that a hundred wagons were required to transport the separate timbers of one of them.* Moveable towers were erected by the Moslems, so as to overtop the walls; their workmen and advanced parties were protected by hurdles covered with raw hides, and all the military contrivances which the art and the skill of the age could produce, were used to facilitate the assault. For a long time their utmost efforts were foiled by the valour of the besieged, who made constant sallies upon their works, burnt their towers and machines, and destroyed their miners. Day by day, however, the numbers of the garrison were thinned by the sword, whilst in the enemy's camp the places of the dead were constantly supplied by fresh warriors from the deserts of Arabia, animated with the same wild fanaticism in the cause of *their* religion as that which so eminently distinguished the military monks of the Temple. WILLIAM DE BEAUJEU. A. D. 1291.

On the 4th of May, after thirty-three days of constant fighting, the great tower, considered the key of the fortifications, and called by the Moslems the *cursed tower*, was thrown down by the military engines. To increase the terror and distraction of the besieged, sultan Khalil mounted three hundred drummers, with their drums, upon as many dromedaries, and commanded them to make as much noise as possible whenever a general assault was ordered. From the 4th to the 14th of May the attacks were incessant. On the 15th, the double wall was forced, and the king of Cyprus, panic-stricken, fled in the night to his ships, and made sail for the island

* The famous Abul-feda, prince of Hamah, surnamed Amod-ed-deen, (Pillar of Religion,) the great historian and astronomer, superintended the transportation of the military engines from Hasn-el-Akrah to St. Jean d'Acre.

WILLIAM DE BEAUJEU. A. D. 1291.

of Cyprus, with all his followers, and with near three thousand of the best men of the garrison. On the morrow the Saracens attacked the post he had deserted; they filled up the ditch with the bodies of dead men and horses, piles of wood, stones, and earth, and their trumpets then sounded to the assault. Ranged under the yellow banner of Mahomet, the Mamlooks forced the breach, and penetrated sword in hand to the very centre of the city; but their victorious career and insulting shouts were there stopped by the mail-clad Knights of the Temple and the Hospital, who charged on horseback through the narrow streets, drove them back with immense carnage, and precipitated them headlong from the walls.

At sunrise the following morning the air resounded with the deafening noise of drums and trumpets, and the breach was carried and recovered several times, the military friars at last closing up the passage with their bodies, and presenting a wall of steel to the advance of the enemy. Loud appeals to God and to Mahomet, to heaven and the saints, were to be heard on all sides; and after an obstinate engagement from sunrise to sunset, darkness put an end to the slaughter. The miners continued incessantly to advance their operations; another wide breach was opened in the walls, and on the third day (the 18th) the infidels made the final assault on the side next the gate of St. Anthony. The army of the mamlooks was accompanied by a troop of sectaries called *Chagis*, a set of religious fanatics, whose devotion consisted in suffering all sorts of privations, and in sacrificing themselves in behalf of Islam. The advance of the mamlook cavalry to the assault was impeded by the deep ditch, which had been imperfectly filled by the fallen ruins and by the efforts of the soldiers, and these religious madmen

precipitated themselves headlong into the abyss and formed a bridge with their bodies, over which the Mamlooks passed to reach the foot of the wall. Nothing could withstand the fierce onslaught of the Moslems. In vain were the first ranks of their cavalry laid prostrate with the dust, and both horses and riders hurled headlong over the ruined walls and battlements into the moat below; their fall only facilitated the progress of those behind them, who pressed on sword in hand over the lifeless bodies of men and horses, to attack the faint and weary warriors guarding the breach. WILLIAM DE BEAUJEU. A. D. 1291.

The Grand Masters of the Temple and Hospital fought side by side at the head of their knights, and for a time successfully resisted all the efforts of the enemy. They engaged hand to hand with the Mamlooks, and pressed like the meanest of the soldiers into the thick of the battle. But as each knight fell beneath the keen scimitars of the Moslems, there were none in reserve to supply his place, whilst the vast hordes of the infidels pressed on with untiring energy and perseverance. Brother Matthew de Clermont, Marshal of the Hospital, after performing prodigies of valour, fell covered with wounds, and William de Beaujeu, as a last resort, requested the Grand Master of that order to sally out of an adjoining gateway at the head of five hundred horse, and attack the enemy's rear. Immediately after the Grand Master of the Temple had given these orders, he was himself struck down by the darts and the arrows of the enemy; the panic-stricken garrison fled to the port, and the infidels rushed on with tremendous shouts of *Allah acbar! Allah acbar!* "GOD is victorious!"

Thousands of panic-stricken Christians now rushed to the sea-side, and sought with frantic violence to gain possession of the ships and

WILLIAM DE BEAUJEU. A. D. 1291.

boats that rode at anchor in the port, but a frightful storm of wind, and rain, and lightning, hung over the dark and agitated waters of the sea; the elements themselves warred against the poor Christians, and the loud-pealing thunder became mingled with the din and uproar of the assault and the clash of arms. The boats and vessels were insufficient, and were swamped by the surging waves; and the bitter cries of the perishing fugitives ascended alike from the sea and shore.* Thousands fled to the churches for refuge, but found none; they prostrated themselves before the altars, and embraced the images of the saints, but these evidences of idolatry only stimulated the merciless fanaticism of the Moslems, and the Christians and their temples, their images and their saints, were all consumed in the raging flames kindled by the inexorable sons of Islam. The churches were set on fire, and the timid virgin and the hardened voluptuary, the nun and the monk, the priest and the bishop, all perished miserably before the altars and the shrines which they had approached in the hour of need, but which many of them had neglected in days of prosperity and peace. The holy nuns of St. Clare, following the example and exhortations of their abbess, mangled and disfigured their faces and persons in a most dreadful manner, to preserve their chastity from violation by the barbarous conquerors, and were gloriously rewarded with the crown of martyrdom by the astonished and disgusted infidels, who slaughtered without mercy the whole sisterhood!

Amid the wild scene of disorder and confusion, ten thousand

* Undique erat tremor et pavor et gemitus mortis. . . . et nunc contra civitatem pugnaverunt omnia elementa. Terra enim ejus sanguinem devorat, mare absorbet populum, ædificia consumit ignis, aer fumo et caligine tenebratur. *Marin. Sanut. Torsell.* lib. iii. pars 12, cap. 21.

Christians had escaped from the city, and fled towards the camp of the Moslems, where they threw themselves on the ground, and humbly implored the clemency of the conqueror. Sultan Khalil distributed them amongst his emirs, who caused them to be led out into the plain of Acre, and there beheaded them.* "The victorious Mussulmen," says Makrisi, "slaughtered, pillaged, and made prisoners; the number of the dead was incalculable, and so was the number of the women and children who were reduced to slavery." WILLIAM DE BEAUJEU. A. D. 1291.

Three hundred Templars, the sole survivors of their illustrious order in Acre, had kept together and successfully withstood the rude shock of the victorious Mamlooks. In a close and compact column they fought their way, accompanied by several hundred christian fugitives, to the convent of the Temple at Acre, and shutting their gates, they again bade defiance to the advancing foe.

The surviving knights assembled together in solemn chapter, and appointed the Knight Templar Brother GAUDINI, Grand Master.† The Temple at Acre was surrounded by walls and towers, and was a place of great strength, and of immense extent. It was divided into three quarters, the first and principal of which contained the palace of the Grand Master, the church, and the habitation of the knights; the second, called the Bourg of the Temple, contained the cells of the serving brethren; and the third, called the Cattle Market, was devoted to the officers charged with the duty of procuring the necessary supplies for the order and its forces. GAUDINI. A. D. 1291.

The following morning very favourable terms were offered to the

* *Makrisi*, ad ann. Hejir. 689.

† Ex ipsis fratrem monachum Gaudini elegerunt ministrum generalum. De excidio urbis Acconis apud *Martene*, tom. 5, col. 782.

GAUDINI. A. D. 1291. Templars by the victorious sultan, and they agreed to evacuate the Temple on condition that a galley should be placed at their disposal, and that they should be allowed to retire in safety with the christian fugitives under their protection, and to carry away as much of their effects as each person could load himself with. The Mussulman conqueror pledged himself to the fulfilment of these conditions, and sent a standard to the Templars, which was mounted on one of the towers of the Temple. A guard of three hundred Moslem soldiers, charged to see the articles of capitulation properly carried into effect, was afterwards admitted within the walls of the convent. Some christian ladies and women of Acre were amongst the fugitives, and the Moslem soldiers, attracted by their beauty, broke through all restraint, and violated the terms of the surrender. The enraged Templars closed and barricadoed the gates of the Temple; they set upon the treacherous infidels, and put every one of them, "from the greatest to the smallest," to death.* Immediately after this massacre, the Moslem trumpets sounded to the assault, but the Templars successfully defended themselves until the next day (the 20th.) The Marshal of the order and several of the brethren were then deputed by Gaudini with a flag of truce to the sultan, to explain the cause of the massacre of his guard. The enraged monarch, however, had no sooner got them into his power, than he ordered every one of them to be decapitated, and pressed the siege with renewed vigour.

* Videntes pulchros Francorum filios ac filias, manus his injecerunt.—*Abulfarag.* Chron. Syr. p. 595. Maledicti Saraceni mulieres et pueros ad loca domus secretiora ex eisdem abusuri distrahere conabantur, turpibus ecclesiam obscœnitatibus cum nihil possent aliud maculantes. Quod videntes christiani, clausis portis, in perfidos viriliter irruerunt, et omnes a minimo usque ad maximum occiderunt, muros, turres, atque portas Templi munientes ad defensam.—De excid. Acconis, ut sup. col. 782. *Marin. Sanut.* ut sup. cap. xxii. p. 231.

In the night, Gaudini, with a chosen band of his companions, collected together the treasure of the order, and the ornaments of the church, and sallying out of a secret postern of the Temple which communicated with the harbour, they got on board a small vessel, and escaped in safety to the island of Cyprus.* The residue of the Templars retired into the large tower of the Temple, called "The Tower of the Master," which they defended with desperate energy. The bravest of the Mamlooks were driven back in repeated assaults, and the little fortress was everywhere surrounded with heaps of the slain. The sultan, at last, despairing of taking the place by assault, ordered it to be undermined. As the workmen advanced, they propped the foundations with beams of wood, and when the excavation was completed, these wooden supports were consumed by fire; the huge tower then fell with a tremendous crash, and buried the brave Templars in its ruins. The sultan set fire to the town in four places; the walls, the towers, and the ramparts were demolished, and the last stronghold of the christian power in Palestine was speedily reduced to a smoking solitude.† A few years back, the ruins of the christian city of Acre were well worthy of the attention of the curious. You might still trace the remains of thirty churches; and the quarter occupied by the Knights Templars continued to

GAUDINI. A. D. 1291.

* Per totam noctem illam, dum fideles vigilarent contra perfidorum astutiam, domum contra eos defensuri, fratrum adjutorio de thesauris quod potuit cum sacrosanctis reliquiis ecclesiæ Templi, ad mare salubriter deportavit. Inde quidem cum fratribus paucis auspicato remigio, in Cyprum cum cautelâ transfretavit.—De excid. Acconis, col. 782.

† De excidio urbis Acconis apud *Martene*, tom. 5, col. 757. *De Guignes*, Hist. des Huns, tom iv. p. 162. Abulfarag. Chron. Syr. p. 595. Wilkens, Comment. Abulfed. Hist. p 231—234. *Marin. Sanut. Torsell*, lib. iii. pars 12, cap. 21. *Ibn Ferat. Makrisi* ad ann. Hejir. 690.

GAUDINI. A D. 1291.

present many interesting memorials of that proud and powerful order. "The carcass," says Sandys, "shows that the body hath been strong, doubly immured; fortified with bulwarks and towers; to each wall a ditch lined with stone, and under those, divers secret posterns. You would think, by the ruins, that the city consisted of divers conjoining castles, which witness a notable defence, and an unequal assault; and that the rage of the conquerors extended beyond conquest; the huge walls and arches turned topsy-turvy, and lying like rocks upon the foundation." At the period of Dr. Clarke's visit to Acre, the ruins, with the exception of the cathedral, the arsenal, the convent of the knights, and the palace of the Grand Master, were so intermingled with modern buildings, and in such a state of utter subversion, that it was difficult, he says, to afford any satisfactory description of them. "Many superb remains were observed by us," says he, "in the pasha's palace, in the khan, the mosque, the public bath, the fountains, and other works of the town, consisting of fragments of antique marble, the shafts and capitals of granite and marble pillars, masses of the verd antique breccia, of the ancient serpentine, and of the syenite and trap of Egypt. In the garden of Djezzar's palace, leading to his summer apartment, we saw some pillars of variegated marble of extraordinary beauty."

Immediately after the fall of Acre, the armies of sultan Kelaoun assaulted and carried, almost without resistance, Tyre, Sidon, Tortosa, Caiphas, and the Pilgrim's Castle. Some attempt at resistance was made by the three last places, which belonged to the order of the Knights Templars, but they were attacked by the Egyptian fleet by sea, and by countless armies of infidels by land, and were speedily involved in the common destruction. The Christians were

chased from ruin to ruin, and exterminated. The churches, the houses, and the fortifications, were all demolished, and everything that could afford shelter and security, or invite the approach of the crusaders from the west, was carefully destroyed. The houses were all set on fire, the trees were cut down and burnt, the land was everywhere laid waste, and all the maritime country, from Laodicea to Ascalon, was made desert. "Every trace of the Franks," says the Arabian chronicler, Ibn Ferat, "was removed, and thus it shall remain, please God, till the day of judgment!"* GAUDINI. A. D. 1291.

Near six centuries have swept over Palestine since the termination of the dominion of the Christians, and the land still continues *desolate.* The proud memorials of past magnificence are painfully contrasted with present ruin and decay, and the remains of the rich and populous cities of antiquity are surrounded by uncultivated deserts. "Thorns have come up in her palaces, and nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof, and the defenced city is left desolate, and the habitation forsaken, and left like a wilderness."

The land still languisheth under the curse of the Almighty, but a brighter and a happier day is yet in store for it.

"In the land of Benjamin, and in the places about Jerusalem, and in the cities of Judah, *shall the flocks pass again under the hand of him that telleth them, saith* THE LORD!"

* *Ibn Ferat*, ad ann. Hejir. 690. *Sanut.* p. 232.

## CHAPTER IX.

The downfall of the Templars—The cause thereof—The Grand Master comes to Europe at the request of the Pope—He is imprisoned, with all the Templars in France, by command of king Philip—They are put to the torture, and confessions of the guilt of heresy and idolatry are extracted from them—Edward II. king of England stands up in defence of the Templars, but afterwards persecutes them at the instance of the Pope—The imprisonment of the Master of the Temple and all his brethren in England—Their examination upon eighty-seven horrible and ridiculous articles of accusation before foreign inquisitors appointed by the Pope—A council of the church assembles at London to pass sentence upon them—The curious evidence adduced as to the mode of admission into the order, and of the customs and observances of the fraternity.

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En cel an qu'ai dist or endroit,
Et ne sait a tort ou a droit,
Furent li Templiers, sans doutance,
Tous pris par le royaume de France.
Au mois d'Octobre, au point du jor,
Et un vendredi fu le jor.

*Chron. MS.*

GAUDINI. A. D. 1292.

It now only remains for us to relate the miserable and cruel fate of the surviving brethren of the order of the Temple, and to tell of the ingratitude they encountered at the hands of their fellow-Christians in the West. Happy were those who left the world

before their order left Palestine, and lived not to witness the calumnies heaped upon their illustrious fraternity, and to suffer on the scaffold, in the unjust and cruel persecution of the whole brotherhood. GAUDINI. A. D. 1292.

The head-quarters of the Templars, after the loss of Palestine, were established at Limisso in the island of Cyprus, to which place the few knights who survived the wreck and ruin of the Latin kingdom retired, one by one, as they escaped from the hands of the infidels. The Templars and Hospitallers still possessed a powerful fleet, and the king of Cyprus at first welcomed the fugitives of the two orders to his dominion, hoping to avail himself of their military and naval power as a defence against the growing strength and animosity of the infidels; but, as the numbers of the fraternities continually increased, through the arrival of the brethren from the West, he began to fear lest they should become too powerful, and get into their hands the entire sovereignty of the island.

Cyprus, as we have before mentioned, anciently belonged to the Knights Templars, the island having been sold to them by Richard Cœur de Lion, and their establishments and possessions in it were numerous and wealthy. The chief houses or preceptories were at Gastira near the sea-coast, at Limisso, and at Nicosia, where may still be seen the vast and magnificent church commenced by the Knights Templars and completed by Guy de Lusignan, after the cession to him of the sovereignty of the country by the order of the Temple. The king of Cyprus, the descendant of Guy de Lusignan, watching with jealousy and alarm the rapid increase of the Templars in his dominions, earnestly endeavoured to get rid of them.

GAUDINI. A. D. 1294. He forbad them to build new houses or to increase their ancient establishments, and opposed the attempts of the Grand Master and superiors of the order to provide suitable accommodation for the increasing number of the brethren and their retainers. The king imposed a poll-tax upon his subjects, and sought to extend it to the Templars, but the military friars resisted the payment of it. Very serious disputes consequently arose between the Templars and the king, which the pope strove in vain to alleviate.

In the midst of these troubles and disorders, the Grand Master Gaudini, overwhelmed with sorrow and vexation at the loss of the Holy Land, and the miserable situation of his order, stripped of all its possessions on the Asiatic continent, and destitute of houses to dwell in, died at Limisso, after a short illness, and was succeeded

JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1295. by Brother JAMES DE MOLAY, of the family of the lords of Longvic and Raon in Burgundy.

This illustrious nobleman was at the head of the order in this country at the period of his election to the dignity of Grand Master. He was first appointed Visitor General, then Grand Preceptor of England, and was afterwards placed at the head of the entire fraternity. During his residence in Britain he held several chapters or assemblies of the brethren at the Temple at London, and at the different preceptories, where he framed and enforced various rules and regulations for the government of the English province of the order.* Shortly after his appointment to the high office of Grand Master, he crossed the sea to France, and had the honour of holding the infant son of Philip le Bel at the baptismal

* Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, tom. 2, p. 350—352, 387, 388. *Cotton* MS. Nero E. VI. 23 i. p. 60, fol. 466. L'art de verif. tom. 1, p. 523, ed. 1783. *Rainald*, tom. 14, ad ann. 1294, paragr. 21.

font. He then proceeded to Cyprus, carrying out with him a strong force of English and French Knights Templars, and a considerable amount of treasure. On his arrival at Limisso he found the disputes between the brotherhood and the king of Cyprus daily increasing in bitterness, and the petty king of the island and the powerful Templars on the eve of an open rupture. JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1297.

Pope Boniface, on his accession to the pontifical dignity, wrote some severe letters to the Cypriot monarch, haughtily reproving him for his oppressive and vexatious conduct towards the Templars, declaring that the poll-tax which he sought to exact from them was a downright invasion of the privileges conceded to the fraternity by the holy see, and arrogantly ordaining that the Templars should be absolutely exempted from all such secular imposts.* The haughty and imperious demeanour of the pope only served to aggravate the quarrel between the order of the Temple and the king, and James de Molay hastened to quit the inhospitable island, and once more to plant the banners of the Temple upon the sacred soil of Palestine. He entered into an alliance with the famous Casan Cham, of the Mogul Tartars, king of Persia, and the descendant or successor of Genghis Khan, and landed in Syria with a body of forces, to join the standard of that powerful monarch. Casan had married the daughter of Leon king of Armenia, a christian princess of extraordinary beauty, to whom he was greatly attached, and who was permitted the enjoyment and public exercise of the christian worship. The Tartar emperor naturally became the friend and protector of the Armenians, who were groaning under the yoke of the Saracens, and was also very favourably disposed towards the Christians in

* *Rainald*, ad an. 1299, paragr. 37. 38, 138.

JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1299.

general. He invited the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital to join him in an expedition against the sultan of Egypt.

In the spring of the year 1299, the Templars landed at Suadia, and made a junction with the Tartar forces which were encamped amid the ruins of Antioch. An army of thirty thousand men was placed by the Mogul emperor under the command of James de Molay, and the combined forces moved up the valley of the Orontes towards Damascus. In a great battle fought at Hems, the troops of the sultans of Damascus and Egypt were entirely defeated, and pursued with great slaughter until nightfall. Aleppo, Hems, Damascus, and all the principal cities, surrendered to the victorious arms of the Moguls, and Casan and the Templars entered the deserted and desolate city of Jerusalem in triumph. The Templars visited the Holy Sepulchre with great devotion, and celebrated Easter with enthusiastic rejoicings on Mount Zion.*

Casan sent ambassadors to the pope, and to the sovereigns of Europe, announcing the victorious progress of his arms, soliciting their alliance, and offering them in return the possession of Palestine. But the christian nations heeded not the call, and none thought seriously of an expedition to the east excepting the ladies of Genoa, who, frightened by an interdict which had been laid upon their town, assumed the cross as the best means of averting the divine indignation. Pope Boniface, in one of his briefs to these enthusiastic dames, congratulates them on the favourable disposition towards the Christians "of Casan emperor of Tartary, who though

* *Haiton* hist. Tartar, cap. 43. *Rainald*, ad ann. 1299, n. 44. L'art de verif. ut sup. tom. 1, p. 523. *D'Herbelot*, bib. Orient. verb. *Casan*.

a pagan," says the pope, " has come to the generous resolution of succouring the Holy Land." JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1301.

Casan, however, was unfortunately compelled to withdraw from the scene of his triumph and success, into Persia, to compose some troubles which had broken out during his absence. He left an army of twenty thousand men under the command of the Grand Master of the Temple, who advanced as far as Gaza, and drove the Saracens into the sandy deserts of Egypt; but a Saracen, who had been appointed governor of Damascus, preferring the interests of his country to the favour of the Tartars, instigated the Mussulman population of Syria to revolt, and the Templars were obliged to retreat from Antioch to Jerusalem. They were there joined by the Tartar general Cotulosse, who had been sent across the Euphrates by Casan to support them. The combined armies were once more preparing to march upon Damascus, when the sudden illness of Casan, who was given over by his physicians, disconcerted all their arrangements.*

The Templars retired to the island of Aradus, near Tortosa, which they fortified; but they were speedily attacked in that position by a fleet of twenty vessels, and an army of ten thousand men, and after a gallant defence they were compelled to abandon their fortifications, and were all killed or taken prisoners. A hundred and twenty of the survivors, after having been driven from the ruined walls and battlements, threw themselves into a tower, and after a vigorous defence agreed to surrender on condition that they should be permitted to depart in safety to the island of Cyprus. The terms were acceded to, and the emir who commanded

* *Haiton*, hist. Tartar. Chron. de *Nangis*. *Rainald*, ad ann. 1300. n. 34.

JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1303.

the infidels promised to fulfil them; but he basely broke his word, and sent all the Templars bound in chains into captivity in Egypt.*

This terrible disaster was speedily followed by the downfall of the order of the Temple. Many circumstances contributed to this memorable event.

As the enthusiasm in favour of the holy war diminished, so also did the popularity of the Templars, although they continued the objects of the bounty of the faithful up to the last moment of their existence. After the loss of all the christian territory in Palestine, and the destruction of every serious hope of recovering and retaining the Holy City, their services were no longer required, and men began to regard with an eye of covetousness their vast wealth and immense possessions.

The privileges conceded to the fraternity by the popes broke the union which originally subsisted between the Templars and the ecclesiastics, and made the church their enemy. The great body of the clergy regarded with jealousy and indignation their removal from the ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Their exemption from tithe was a source of considerable loss to the parsons, and the privilege they possessed of celebrating divine service during interdict brought abundance of offerings and alms to the priests and chaplains of the order, which the clergy looked upon as so many robberies committed upon themselves. Disputes arose between the fraternity and the bishops and priests, and the hostility of the latter to the order was manifested in repeated acts of injustice, which drew forth many severe bulls and indignant animadversions

* *Marin. Sanut.* p. 242. *De Guignes*, hist. des Huns, tom. 4, p 184.

from the Roman pontiffs. Pope Alexander, in a bull fulminated against the clergy, tells them that if they would carefully reflect upon the contests which his beloved sons, the brethren of the chivalry of the Temple, continually maintained in Palestine for the defence of Christianity, and their kindness to the poor, they would not only cease from annoying and injuring them, but would strictly restrain others from so doing. He expresses himself to be grieved and astonished to hear that many ecclesiastics had vexed them with grievous injuries, had treated his apostolic letters with contempt, and had refused to read them in their churches; that they had subtracted the customary alms and oblations from the fraternity, and had admitted aggressors against the property of the brethren to their familiar friendship, insufferably endeavouring to press down and discourage those whom they ought assiduously to uphold. From other bulls it appears that the bishops deterred the regular clergy from entering into the service of the order by depriving them of the fruits of their benefices, and of their other ecclesiastical preferments, as long as they officiated in the churches and chapels of the Temple; that the priests interfered with the right enjoyed by the fraternity of collecting alms; that they refused to bury the brethren of the order when deceased without being paid for it, and arrogantly claimed a right to be entertained with sumptuous hospitality in the houses of the Temple. For these delinquencies, the bishops, archdeacons, priests, and the whole body of the clergy, are threatened with severe measures by the Roman pontiff.*

JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1303.

The Templars, moreover, towards the close of their career, be-

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 1, p. 575, 576—579, 582, tom. 2, p. 250, *Martene*, vet. script. tom. 7, col. 156.

JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1303.

came unpopular with the European sovereigns and their nobles. The revenues of the former were somewhat diminished through the immunities conceded to the Templars by their predecessors, and the paternal estates of the latter had been diminished by the grant of many thousand manors, lordships, and fair estates to the order by their pious and enthusiastic ancestors. Considerable dislike also began to be manifested to the annual transmission of large sums of money, the revenues of the order, from the European states, to be expended in a distant warfare in which Christendom now took comparatively no interest.

Shortly after the fall of Acre, and the total loss of Palestine, Edward I., king of England, seized and sequestered to his own use the monies which had been accumulated by the Templars, to forward to their brethren in Cyprus, alleging that the property of the order of the Temple had been granted to it by the kings of England, his predecessors, and their subjects, for the defence of the Holy Land, and that since the loss thereof, no better use could be made of the money than by appropriating it to the maintenance of the poor. At the earnest request of the pope, however, the king afterwards permitted their revenues to be transmitted to them in the island of Cyprus in the usual manner.* King Edward had previously manifested a strong desire to lay hands on the property of the Templars. On his return from his victorious campaign in Wales, finding himself unable to disburse the arrears of pay due to his soldiers, he went with Sir Robert Waleran and some armed followers to the Temple, and calling for the treasurer, he pretended that he wanted to see his mother's jewels, which were there kept. Having been

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 2, p. 683, ad ann. 1295.

admitted into the house, he deliberately broke open the coffers of the Templars, and carried away ten thousand pounds with him to Windsor Castle.* His son, Edward II., on his accession to the throne, committed a similar act of injustice. He went with his favourite, Piers Gaveston, to the Temple, and took away with him fifty thousand pounds of silver, with a quantity of gold, jewels, and precious stones, belonging to the bishop of Chester.† The impunity with which these acts of violence were committed, manifests that the Templars then no longer enjoyed the power and respect which they possessed in ancient times.

JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1304.

As the enthusiasm, too, in favour of the holy war diminished, large numbers of the Templars remained at home in their western preceptories, and took an active part in the politics of Europe. They interfered in the quarrels of christian princes, and even drew their swords against their fellow-Christians. Thus we find the members of the order taking part in the war between the houses of Anjou and Aragon, and aiding the king of England in his warfare against the king of Scotland. In the battle of Falkirk, fought on the 22nd of July, A. D. 1298, seven years after the fall of Acre, perished both the Master of the Temple at London, and his vicegerent the Preceptor of Scotland.‡ All these circumstances, together with the loss of the Holy Land, and the extinction of the enthusiasm of the crusades, diminished the popularity of the Tem-

† Chron. *Dunmow.* Annals of *St. Augustin.* *Rapin.*

‡ Ipse vero Rex et Petrus thesaurum ipsius episcopi, apud Novum Templum Londonii reconditum, ceperunt, ad summam quinquaginta millia librarum argenti, præter aurum multum, jocalia et lapides preciosos. . . . Erant enim ambo præsentes, cum cistæ frangerentur, et adhuc non erat sepultum corpus patris sui.—*Hemingford*, p. 244.

‡ Chron. *Trivcti*, ad ann. 1298. *Hemingford*, vol. i. p. 159.

JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1305.

plars. The rolls of the English parliament about this time begin to teem with complaints and petitions from the fraternity, of the infringement of their charters, franchises, liberties, and privileges, in all parts of the realm.*

At the period of the fall of Acre, Philip the Fair, son of St. Louis, occupied the throne of France. He was a needy and avaricious monarch,† and had at different periods resorted to the most violent expedients to replenish his exhausted exchequer. On the death of Pope Benedict XI., (A. D. 1304,) he succeeded, through the intrigues of the French Cardinal Dupré, in raising the archbishop of Bourdeaux, a creature of his own, to the pontifical chair. The new pope removed the holy see from Rome to France; he summoned all the cardinals to Lyons, and was there consecrated, (A. D. 1305,) by the name of Clement V., in the presence of king Philip and his nobles. Of the ten new cardinals then created, *nine* were Frenchmen, and in all his acts the new pope manifested himself the obedient slave of the French monarch. The character of this pontiff has been painted by the Romish ecclesiastical historians in the darkest colours: they represent him as wedded to pleasure, eaten up with ambition, and greedy for money; they accuse him of indulging in a criminal intrigue with the beautiful countess of Perigord, and of trafficking in holy things.‡

* Rolls of Parliament, vol. i. p. 2. E de ces avandites choses si prient le Mestre e les freres du Temple la grace nostre Seigneur le Roi, ke il voile pur Dieu, e pur sa alme, lur dreit, e leur chartres, oyr e maintenir en droit, si li plest, e lur Franchises maintenir a commander, garder, si cum il les ont enavant ces oures. Ib. No. 7.

† *Dante* styles him *il mal di Francia*, Del. Purgat. cant. 20, 91.

‡ Questo Papa fue huomo molto cupido di moneta, e fue lusurioso, si dicea che tenea per amica la contessa di Paragordo, bellissima donna!! *Villani*, lib. ix. cap. 58. Fuit nimis cupi-

On the 6th of June, A. D. 1306, a few months after his coronation, this new French pontiff addressed letters from Bourdeaux to the Grand Masters of the Temple and Hospital, expressing his earnest desire to consult them with regard to the measures necessary to be taken for the recovery of the Holy Land. He tells them that they are the pesrons best qualified to give advice upon the subject, and to conduct and manage the enterprize, both from their great military experience and the interest they had in the success of the expedition. "We order you," says he, "to come hither without delay, with as much secrecy as possible, and with a *very little retinue*, since you will find on this side the sea a sufficient number of your knights to attend upon you."* The Grand Master of the Hospital declined obeying this summons; but the Grand Master of the Temple forthwith accepted it, and unhesitatingly placed himself in the power of the pope and the king of France. He landed in France, attended by sixty of his knights, at the commencement of the year 1307, and deposited the treasure of the order which he had brought with him from Cyprus, in the Temple at Paris. He was received with distinction by the king, and then took his departure for Poictiers to have an interview with the pope. He was there detained with various conferences and negotiations relative to a pretended expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land.

JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1306.

Among other things, the pope proposed an union between the Templars and Hospitallers, and the Grand Master handed in his

ditatibus deditus. . . . Sanct. Ant. Flor. de Concil. Vien. tit. 21, sec. 3. Circa thesauros colligendos insudavit, says *Knighton* apud X. script. col. 2494. *Fleuri*, l. 92, p. 239. *Chron. de Nangis*, ad ann. 1305.

* *Rainald*, tom. 15, ad ann. 1306, n. 12. *Fleuri*, Hist. Eccles. tom. 19, p 111.

JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1307.

objections to the proposition. He says, that after the fall of Acre, the people of Italy and of other christian nations clamoured loudly against Pope Nicholas, for having afforded no succour to the besieged, and that he, by way of screening himself, had laid all the blame of the loss of the place on pretended dissensions between the Templars and Hospitallers, and projected an union between them. The Grand Master declares that there had been no dissensions between the orders prejudicial to the christian cause; that there was nothing more than a spirit of rivalry and emulation, the destruction of which would be highly injurious to the Christians, and advantageous to the Saracens; for if the Hospitallers at any time performed a brilliant feat of arms against the infidels, the Templars would never rest quiet until they had done the same or better, and *e converso*. So also if the Templars made a great shipment of brethren, horses, and other beasts across sea to Palestine, the Hospitallers would always do the like or more. He at the same time positively declares that a member of one order had never been known to raise his hand against a member of the other.* The Grand Master complains that the reverence and respect of the christian nations for both orders had undeservedly diminished, that everything was changed, and that most persons were then more ready to take from them than to give to them, and that many powerful men, both clergy and laity, brought continual mischiefs upon the fraternities.

In the mean time, the secret agents of the French king industriously circulated various dark rumours and odious reports concerning the Templars, and it was said that they would never have lost the

* *Bal. Pap. Aven.* tom. 2, p. 176.

Holy Land if they had been good Christians. These rumours and accusations were soon put into a tangible shape. JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1307.

According to some writers, Squin de Florian, a citizen of Bezieres, who had been condemned to death or perpetual imprisonment in one of the royal castles for his iniquities, was brought before Philip, and received a free pardon, and was well rewarded, in return for an accusation on oath, charging the Templars with heresy, and with the commission of the most horrible crimes. According to others, Nosso de Florentin, an apostate Templar, who had been condemned by the Grand Preceptor and chapter of France to perpetual imprisonment for impiety and crime, made in his dungeon a voluntary confession of the sins and abominations charged against the order.* Be this as it may, upon the strength of an information sworn to by a condemned criminal, king Philip, on the 14th of September, despatched secret orders to all the baillis of the different provinces in France, couched in the following extravagant and absurd terms:—

"Philip, by the grace of God king of the French, to his beloved and faithful knights . . . . &c. &c.

"A deplorable and most lamentable matter, full of bitterness and grief, a monstrous business, a thing that one cannot think on without affright, cannot hear without horror, transgressions unheard of, enormities and atrocities contrary to every sentiment of humanity, &c. &c., have reached our ears." After a long and most extraordinary tirade of this kind, Philip accuses the Templars of insulting Jesus Christ, and making him suffer more in those days than he had suffered formerly upon the cross; of renouncing the christian

* *Bal. Pap. Aven.* tom. 1, p. 99. Sexta Vita, Clem. V. apud *Baluz*, tom. 1, col. 100.

JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1307.

religion; of mocking the sacred image of the Saviour; of sacrificing to idols; and of abandoning themselves to impure practices and unnatural crimes. He characterises them as ravishing wolves in sheep's clothing; a perfidious, ungrateful, idolatrous society, whose words and deeds were enough to pollute the earth and infect the air; to dry up the sources of the celestial dews, and to put the whole church of Christ into confusion.

"We being charged," says he, "with the maintenance of the faith; after having conferred with the pope, the prelates, and the barons of the kingdom, at the instance of the inquisitor, from the informations already laid, from violent supicions, from probable conjectures, from legitimate presumptions, conceived against the enemies of heaven and earth; and because the matter is important, and it is expedient to prove the just like gold in the furnace, by a rigorous examination, have decreed that the members of the order who are our subjects shall be arrested and detained to be judged by the church, and that all their real and personal property shall be seized into our hands, and be faithfully preserved," &c. To these orders are attached instructions requiring the baillis and seneschals accurately to inform themselves, with great secrecy, and without exciting suspicion, of the number of the houses of the Temple within their respective jurisdictions; they are then to provide an armed force sufficient to overcome all resistance, and on the 13th of October are to surprise the Templars in their preceptories, and make them prisoners. The inquisition is then directed to assemble to examine the guilty, and to employ *torture* if it be necessary. "Before proceeding with the inquiry," says Philip, "you are to inform them (the Templars) that the pope and ourselves have been

convinced, by irreproachable testimony, of the errors and abominations which accompany their vows and profession; you are to promise them pardon and favour if they *confess* the truth, but if not, you are to acquaint them that they will be condemned to death."* JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1307.

As soon as Philip had issued these orders, he wrote to the principal sovereigns of Europe, urging them to follow his example,† and sent a confidential agent, named Bernard Peletin, with a letter to the young king, Edward the Second, who had just then ascended the throne of England, representing in frightful colours the pretended sins of the Templars. On the 22nd of September, king Edward replied to this letter, observing that he had considered of the matters mentioned therein, and had listened to the statements of that discreet man, Master Bernard Peletin; that he had caused the latter to unfold the charges before himself, and many prelates, earls, and barons of his kingdom, and others of his council; but that they appeared so astonishing as to be beyond belief; that such abominable and execrable deeds had never before been heard of by the king, and the aforesaid prelates, earls, and barons, and it was therefore hardly to be expected that an easy credence could be given to them. The English monarch, however, informs king Philip, that by the advice of his council he had ordered the seneschal of Agen, from whose lips the rumours were said to have proceeded, to be summoned to his presence, that through him he might be further informed concerning the premises; and he states that, at the fitting time, after due inquiry, he will take such steps as will

* Hist. de la Condemnation des Templiers.—*Dupuy*, tom. 2, p. 309.

† *Mariana* Hispan. Illustr. tom. 3, p. 152. *Le Gendre* Hist. de France, tom. 2, p. 499.

JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1307.

redound to the praise of God, and the honour and preservation of the catholic faith.*

On the night of the 13th of October, all the Templars in the French dominions were simultaneously arrested. Monks were appointed to preach against them in the public places of Paris, and in the gardens of the Palais Royal; and advantage was taken of the folly, the superstition, and the credulity of the age, to propagate the most horrible and extravagant charges against the order. They were accused of worshipping an idol covered with an old skin, embalmed, having the appearance of a piece of polished oil-cloth. "In this idol," we are assured, "there were two carbuncles for eyes, bright as the brightness of heaven, and it is certain that all the hope of the Templars was placed in it; it was their sovereign god, and they trusted in it with all their heart." They are accused of burning the bodies of the deceased brethren, and making the ashes into a powder, which they administered to the younger brethren in their food and drink, to make them hold fast their faith and idolatry; of cooking and roasting infants, and anointing their idols with the fat; of celebrating hidden rites and mysteries, to which young and tender virgins were introduced, and of a variety of abominations too absurd and horrible to be named.† Guillaume Paradin, in his history of Savoy, seriously repeats these monstrous accusations, and declares that the Templars had "un lieu creux ou cave en terre, fort obscur, en laquelle ils avoient un image en forme d'un homme, sur lequel ils avoient appliqué la peau d'un corps humain, et mis deux

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 18, ad ann. 1307.

† Les forfaits pourquoi les Templiers furent ars et condamnez, pris et contre eux approuvez. *Chron. S. Denis.* Sexta vita, Clem. V. *Dupuy*, p. 24, edition de 1713.

clairs et luisans escarboucles au lieu des deux yeux. A cette horrible statue etoient contraints de sacrifier ceux qui vouloient etre de leur damnable religion, lesquels avant toutes ceremonies ils contragnoient de renier Jesus Christ, et fouler la croix avec les pieds, et apres ce maudit sacre auquel assistoient femmes et filles (seduites pour etre de ce secte) ils estegnoient les lampes et lumieres qu'ils avoient en cett cave. . . . . .* . Et s'il advenoit que d'un Templier et d'un pucelle nasquit un fils, ils se rangoient tous en un rond, et se jettoient cet enfant de main en main, et ne cessoient de le jetter jusqu'a ce qu'il fu mort entre leurs mains: etant mort ils se rotissoient (chose execrable) et de la graisse ils en ognoient leur grand statue!"* The character of the charges preferred against the Templars proves that their enemies had no serious crimes to allege against the order. Their very virtues, indeed, were turned against them, for we are told that, "*to conceal the iniquity of their lives,* they made much almsgiving, constantly frequented church, comported themselves with edification, frequently partook of the holy sacrament, and manifested always much modesty and gentleness of deportment in the house, as well as in public."† JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1307.

During twelve days of severe imprisonment, the Templars remained constant in the denial of the horrible crimes imputed to the fraternity. The king's promises of pardon extracted from them no confession of guilt, and they were therefore handed over to the tender mercies of the brethren of St. Dominic, who were the most refined and expert torturers of the day.

On the 19th of October, the grand inquisitor proceeded with his myrmidons to the Temple at Paris, and a hundred and forty Tem-

* Liv. ii. chap. 106, chez *Dupuy.* † Sexta vita, Clem. V. col. 102.

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plars were one after another put to the torture. Days and weeks were consumed in the examination, and thirty-six Templars perished in the hands of their tormentors, maintaining, with unshaken constancy to the very last, the entire innocence of their order. Many of them lost the use of their feet from the application of the torture of fire, which was inflicted in the following manner:—their legs were fastened in an iron frame, and the soles of their feet were greased over with fat or butter; they were then placed before the fire, and a screen was drawn backwards and forwards, so as to moderate and regulate the heat. Such was the agony produced by this roasting operation, that the victims often went raving mad. Brother Bernarde de Vado, on subsequently revoking a confession of guilt, wrung from him by this description of torment, says to the commissary of police, before whom he was brought to be examined, "They held me so long before a fierce fire that the flesh was burnt off my heels, two pieces of bone came away, which I present to you."* Another Templar, on publicly revoking his confession, declared that four of his teeth were drawn out, and that he confessed himself guilty to save the remainder.† Others of the fraternity deposed to the infliction on them of the most revolting and indecent torments;‡ and, in addition to all this, it appears that forged letters from the Grand Master were shown to the prisoners, exhorting them to confess themselves guilty. Many of the Templars were accordingly

* Ostendens duo ossa quod dicebat illa esse quæ ceciderunt de talis suis. *Processus contra Templarios. Raynouard* Monumens Historiques, p. 73, ed. 1813.

† In quibis tormentis dicebat se quatuor dentes perdidisse. Ib. p. 35.

‡ Fuit quæstionibus ponderibus appensis in genitalibus, et in aliis membris usque ad exanimationem. Ib.

compelled to acknowledge whatever was required of them, and to plead guilty to the commission of crimes which, in the previous interrogatories, they had positively denied.* JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1307.

These violent proceedings excited the astonishment and amazement of Europe.

On the 20th of November, the king of England summoned the seneschal of Agen to his presence, and examined him concerning the truth of the horrible charges preferred against the Templars; and on the 4th of December, the English monarch wrote letters to the kings of Portugal, Castile, Aragon, and Sicily, to the following effect:—

"To the magnificent prince the Lord Dionysius, by the grace of God the illustrious king of Portugal, his very dear friend, Edward, by the same grace king of England, &c. Health and prosperity.

"It is fit and proper, inasmuch as it conduceth to the honour of God and the exaltation of the faith, that we should prosecute with benevolence those who come recommended to us by strenuous labours and incessant exertions in defence of the Catholic faith, and for the destruction of the enemies of the cross of Christ. Verily, a certain clerk, (Bernard Peletin,) drawing nigh unto our presence, applied himself, with all his might, to the destruction of the order of the brethren of the Temple of Jerusalem. He dared to publish before us and our council certain horrible and detestable enormities repugnant to the Catholic faith, to the prejudice of the aforesaid brothers, endeavouring to persuade us, through his own allegations, as well as through certain letters which he had caused to be addressed to us for that purpose, that by reason of the premises, and without a due

* Tres des Chart. TEMPLIERS, cart. 3, n. 20.

JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1307.

examination of the matter, we ought to imprison all the brethren of the aforesaid order abiding in our dominions. But, considering that the order, which hath been renowned for its religion and its honour, and in times long since passed away was instituted, as we have learned, by the Catholic Fathers, exhibits, and hath from the period of its first foundation exhibited, a becoming devotion to God and his holy church, and also, up to this time, hath afforded succour and protection to the Catholic faith in parts beyond sea, it appeared to us that a ready belief in an accusation of this kind, hitherto altogether unheard of against the fraternity, was scarcely to be expected. We affectionately ask, and require of your royal majesty, that ye, with due diligence, consider of the premises, and turn a deaf ear to the slanders of ill-natured men, who are animated, as we believe, not with a zeal of rectitude, but with a spirit of *cupidity* and envy, permitting no injury unadvisedly to be done to the persons or property of the brethren of the aforesaid order, dwelling within your kingdom, until they have been legally convicted of the crimes laid to their charge, or it shall happen to be otherwise ordered concerning them in these parts." *

A few days after the transmission of this letter, king Edward wrote to the pope, expressing his disbelief of the horrible and detestable rumours spread abroad concerning the Templars. He represents them to his holiness as universally respected by all men in his dominions for the purity of their faith and morals. He expresses great sympathy for the affliction and distress suffered by the Master

* Dat. apud Redyng, 4 die Decembris. Consimiles litteræ diriguntur Ferando regi Castillæ et Legionis, consanguineo regis, domino Karolo, regi Siciliæ, et Jacobo regi Aragoniæ, amico Regis. Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, ad. ann. 1307, p. 35, 36.

and brethren, by reason of the scandal circulated concerning them; and he strongly urges the holy pontiff to clear, by some fair course of inquiry, the character of the order from the unjust and infamous aspersions cast against it.* On the 22nd of November, however, a fortnight previously, the Pope had issued the following bull to king Edward. JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1307.

"Clement, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his very dear son in Christ, Edward, the illustrious king of England, health and apostolical blessing.

"Presiding, though unworthy, on the throne of pastoral pre-eminence, by the disposition of him who disposeth all things, we fervently seek after this one thing above all others; we with ardent wishes aspire to this, that shaking off the sleep of negligence, whilst watching over the Lord's flock, by removing that which is hurtful, and taking care of such things as are profitable, we may be able, by the divine assistance, to bring souls to God."

"In truth, a long time ago, about the period of our first promotion to the summit of the apostolical dignity, there came to our ears a light rumour, to the effect that the Templars, though fighting ostensibly under the guise of religion, have hitherto been secretly living in perfidious apostasy, and in detestable heretical depravity. But, considering that their order, in times long since passed away, shone forth with the grace of much nobility and honour, and that they were for a length of time held in vast reverence by the faithful, and that we had then heard of no suspicion concerning the premises, or of evil report against them; and also, that from the beginning of

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 37, ad ann. 1307.

JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1307.

their religion, they have publicly borne the cross of Christ, exposing their bodies and goods against the enemies of the faith, for the acquisition, retention, and defence of the Holy Land, consecrated by the precious blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, we were unwilling to yield a ready belief to the accusation. . . . ."

The holy pontiff then states, that afterwards, however, the same dreadful intelligence was conveyed to the king of France, who, animated by a lively zeal in the cause of religion, took immediate steps to ascertain its truth. He describes the various confessions of the guilt of idolatry and heresy made by the Templars in France, and requires the king forthwith to cause all the Templars in his dominions to be taken into custody on the same day. He directs him to hold them, in the name of the pope, at the disposition of the Holy See, and to commit all their real and personal property to the hands of certain trustworthy persons, to be faithfully preserved until the holy pontiff shall give further directions concerning it.* King Edward received this bull immediately after he had despatched his letter to the pope, exhorting his holiness not to give ear to the accusation against the order. The young king was now either convinced of the guilt of the Templars, on the high authority of the sovereign pontiff, or hoped to turn the proceedings against them to a profitable account, as he yielded a ready and prompt compliance with the pontifical commands. An order in council was made for the arrest of the Templars, and the seizure of their property. Inventories were directed to be taken of their goods and chattels, and provision was made for the sowing and tilling of their lands during the period

* Dat. Pictavis 10, kal. Dec. Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, ad ann. 1307, p. 30—32.

of their imprisonment.* This order in council was carried into effect in the following manner :— JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1307.

On the 20th of December, the king's writs were directed to each of the sheriffs throughout England, commanding them to make sure of certain trustworthy men of their bailiwicks, to the number of ten or twelve in each county, such as the king could best confide in, and have them at a certain place in the county, on pain of forfeiture of everything that could be forfeited to the king; and commanding the sheriffs, on pain of the like forfeiture, to be in person at the same place, on the Sunday before the feast of Epiphany, to do certain things touching the king's peace, which the sheriff would find contained in the king's writ about to be directed to him. And afterwards the king sent sworn clergymen with his writs, containing the said order in council to the sheriffs, who, before they opened them, were to take an oath that they would not disclose the contents of such writs until they proceeded to execute them.† The same orders, to be acted upon in a similar manner in Ireland, were sent to the justiciary of that country, and to the treasurer of the Exchequer at Dublin; also to John de Richemund, guardian of Scotland; and to Walter de Pederton, justiciary of West Wales; Hugh de Aldithelegh, justiciary of North Wales; and to Robert de Holland, justiciary of Chester, who were strictly commanded to carry the orders into execution before the king's proceedings against the Templars in England were noised abroad. All the king's faithful subjects were commanded to aid and assist the officers in the fulfilment of their duty.‡

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 34, 35, ad ann. 1307. † Ib. p. 34, 35. ‡ Ib. p. 45.

JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1308.

On the 26th of December the king wrote to the Pope, informing his holiness that he would carry his commands into execution in the best and speediest way that he could; and on the 8th of January, A. D. 1308, the Templars were suddenly arrested in all parts of England, and their property was seized into the king's hands.* Brother William de la More was at this period Master of the Temple, or Preceptor of England. He succeeded the Master Brian le Jay, who was slain, as before mentioned, in the battle of Falkirk, and was taken prisoner, together with all his brethren of the Temple at London, and committed to close custody in Canterbury Castle. He was afterwards liberated on bail at the instance of the bishop of Durham.†

On the 12th of August, the Pope addressed the bull *faciens misericordiam* to the English bishops as follows:—"Clement, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the venerable brethren the archbishop of Canterbury, and his suffragans, health and apostolical benediction. The Son of God, the Lord Jesus Christ, *using mercy* with his servant, would have us taken up into the eminent mirror of the apostleship, to this end, that being, though unworthy, his vicar upon earth, we may, as far as human frailty will permit in all our actions and proceedings, follow his footsteps." He describes the rumours which had been spread abroad in France against the Templars, and his unwillingness to believe them, "because it was not likely, nor did seem credible, that such religious men, who continually shed their blood for the name of Christ, and were thought to expose their persons to danger of death for his

* *Knyghton*, apud X. script. col. 2494, 2531.

† Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 83.

sake; and who often showed many and great signs of devotion, as well in the divine offices as in fasting and other observances, should be so unmindful of their salvation as to perpetrate such things; we were unwilling to give ear to the insinuations and impeachments against them, being taught so to do by the example of the same Lord of ours; and the writings of canonical doctrine. But afterwards, our most dear son in Christ, Philip, the illustrious king of the French, to whom the same crimes had been made known, *not from motives of avarice*, (since he does not design to apply or to appropriate to himself any portion of the estates of the Templars, nay, has washed his hands of them!) but inflamed with zeal for the orthodox faith, following the renowned footsteps of his ancestors, getting what information he properly could upon the premises, gave us much instruction in the matter by his messengers and letters." The holy pontiff then gives a long account of the various confessions made in France, and of the absolution granted to such of the Templars as were truly contrite and penitent; he expresses his conviction of the guilt of the order, and makes provision for the trial of the fraternity in England.* King Edward in the mean time, had begun to make free with their property, and the Pope, on the 4th of October, wrote to him to the following effect:

JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1308.

"Your conduct begins again to afford us no slight cause of affliction, inasmuch as it hath been brought to our knowledge from the report of several barons, that in contempt of the Holy See, and without fear of offending the divine Majesty, you have, of your own sole authority, distributed to different persons the

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p 101, 2, 3.

JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1308.

property which belonged formerly to the order of the Temple in your dominions, which you had got into your hands at our command, and which ought to have remained at our disposition. . . . . We have therefore ordained that certain fit and proper persons shall be sent into your kingdom, and to all parts of the world where the Templars are known to have had property, to take possession of the same conjointly with certain prelates specially deputed to that end, and to make an inquisition concerning the execrable excesses which the members of the order are said to have committed." *

To this letter of the supreme pontiff, king Edward sent the following short and pithy reply:

"As to the goods of the Templars, we have done nothing with them up to the present time, nor do we intend to do with them aught but what we have a right to do, and what we know will be acceptable to the Most High." †

On the 13th of September, A. D. 1309, the king granted letters of safe conduct "to those discreet men, the abbot of Lagny, in the diocese of Paris, and Master Sicard de Vaur, canon of Narbonne," the inquisitors appointed by the Pope to examine the Grand Preceptor and brethren of the Temple in England;‡ and the same day he wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of London and Lincoln, enjoining them to be personally present with the papal inquisitors, at their respective sees, as often as such inquisitors, or any one of them, should proceed with their inquiries against the Templars.§

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 100, 111. *Vitæ paparum Avenion*, tom. 2, p. 107.

† Ibid. tom. 3, p. 121, 122. ‡ Ibid. p. 168. § Ibid. p. 168, 169.

On the 14th of September writs were sent, in pursuance of an order in council, to the sheriffs of Kent, and seventeen other counties, commanding them to bring all their prisoners of the order of the Temple to London, and deliver them to the constable of the Tower; also to the sheriffs of Northumberland and eight other counties, enjoining them to convey their prisoners to York Castle; and to the sheriffs of Warwick and seven other counties, requiring them, in like manner, to conduct their prisoners to the Castle of Lincoln.* Writs were also sent to John de Cumberland, constable of the Tower, and to the constables of the castles of York and Lincoln, commanding them to receive the Templars, to keep them in safe custody, and hold them at the disposition of the inquisitors.† The total number of Templars in custody was two hundred and twenty-nine. Many, however, were still at large, having successfully evaded capture by obliterating all marks of their previous profession, and some had escaped in disguise to the wild and mountainous parts of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. Among the prisoners confined in the Tower were brother William de la More, Knight, Grand Preceptor of England, otherwise Master of the Temple; brother Himbert Blanke, Knight, Grand Preceptor of Auvergne, one of the veteran warriors who had fought to the last in defence of Palestine, had escaped the slaughter at Acre, and had accompanied the Grand Master from Cyprus to France, whence he crossed over to England, and was rewarded for his meritorious and memorable services, in defence of the christian faith, with a dungeon in the Tower.‡ Brother *Radulph*

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* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 5, p. 174. † Ibid. p. 173, 175.

‡ *Rainald.* tom. 15, ad ann. 1306.

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*de Barton*, priest of the order of the Temple, custos or guardian of the Temple church, and prior of London; Brother *Michael de Baskeville*, Knight, Preceptor of London; Brother *John de Stoke*, Knight, Treasurer of the Temple at London; together with many other knights and serving brethren of the same house. There were also in custody in the Tower the knights preceptors of the preceptories of Ewell in Kent, of Daney and Dokesworth in Cambridgeshire, of Getinges in Gloucestershire, of Cumbe in Somersetshire, of Schepeley in Surrey, of Samford and Bistelesham in Oxfordshire, of Garwy in Herefordshire, of Cressing in Essex, of Pafflet, Hippleden, and other preceptories, together with several priests and chaplains of the order.* A general scramble appears to have taken place for possession of the goods and chattels of the imprisoned Templars; and the king, to check the robberies that were committed, appointed Alan de Goldyngham and John de Medefeld to inquire into the value of the property that had been carried off, and to inform him of the names of the parties who had obtained possession of it. The sheriffs of the different counties were also directed to summon juries, through whom the truth might be better obtained.†

On the 22nd of September, the archbishop of Canterbury transmitted letters apostolic to all his suffragans, enclosing copies of the bull *faciens misericordiam*, and also the articles of accusation to be exhibited against the Templars, which they are directed to copy and deliver again, under their seals, to the bearer, taking especial care not to reveal the contents thereof.‡ At the same

* Concil. Mag. Brit. tom. 2, p. 346, 347.

† Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 178, 179.

‡ Concil. Mag. Brit. tom 2, 304—311.

time the archbishop, acting in obedience to the papal commands, before a single witness had been examined in England, caused to be published in all churches and chapels a papal bull, wherein the Pope declares himself perfectly convinced of the guilt of the order, and solemnly denounces the penalty of excommunication against all persons, of whatever rank, station, or condition in life, whether clergy or laity, who should knowingly afford, either publicly or privately, assistance, counsel, or kindness to the Templars, or should dare to shelter them, or give them countenance or protection, and also laying under interdict all cities, castles, lands, and places, which should harbour any of the members of the proscribed order.* At the commencement of the month of October, the inquisitors arrived in England, and immediately published the bull appointing the commission, enjoining the citation of the criminals, and of witnesses, and denouncing the heaviest ecclesiastical censures against the disobedient, and against every person who should dare to impede the inquisitors in the exercise of their functions. Citations were made in St. Paul's Cathedral, and in all the churches of the ecclesiastical province of Canterbury, at the end of high mass, requiring the Templars to appear before the inquisitors at a certain time and place, and the articles of accusation were transmitted to the constable of the Tower, in Latin, French, and English, to be read to all the Templars imprisoned in that fortress. On Monday, the 20th of October, after the Templars had been languishing in the English prisons for more than a year and eight months, the tribunal constituted by the Pope to take the inquisition in the province of Canterbury assembled in the episcopal

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* *Processus contra Templarios*, *Dugd.* Monast. Angl. vol. 6, part ii. p. 844—846, ed. 1830.

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hall of London. It was composed of the bishop of London, Dieudonné, abbot of the monastery of Lagny, in the diocese of Paris, and Sicard de Vaur, canon of Narbonne, the pope's chaplain, and hearer of causes in the pontifical palace. They were assisted by several foreign notaries. After the reading of the papal bulls, and some preliminary proceedings, the monstrous and ridiculous articles of accusation, a monument of human folly, superstition, and credulity, were solemnly exhibited as follows -

"*Item.* At the place, day, and hour aforesaid, in the presence of the aforesaid lords, and before us, the above-mentioned notaries, the articles inclosed in the apostolic bull were exhibited and opened before us, the contents whereof are as underwritten.

"These are the articles upon which inquisition shall be made against the brethren of the military order of the Temple, &c.

"1. That at their first reception into the order, or at some time afterwards, or as soon as an opportunity occurred, they were induced or admonished by those who had received them within the bosom of the fraternity, to deny Christ or Jesus, or the crucifixion, or at one time God, and at another time the blessed virgin, and sometimes all the saints.

"2. That the brothers jointly did this.

"3. That the greater part of them did it.

"4. That they did it sometimes after their reception.

"5. That the receivers told and instructed those that were received, that Christ was not the true God, or sometimes Jesus, or sometimes the person crucified.

"6. That they told those they received that he was a false prophet.

" 7. That they said he had not suffered for the redemption of mankind, nor been crucified but for his own sins. JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1309.

" 8. That neither the receiver nor the person received had any hope of obtaining salvation through him, and this they said to those they received, or something equivalent, or like it.

" 9. That they made those they received into the order spit upon the cross, or upon the sign or figure of the cross, or the image of Christ, though they that were received did sometimes spit aside.

" 10. That they caused the cross itself to be trampled under foot.

" 11. That the brethren themselves did sometimes trample on the same cross.

" 12. Item quod mingebant interdum, et alios mingere faciebant, super ipsam crucem, et hoc fecerunt aliquotiens in die veneris sanctâ ! !

" 13. Item quod nonnulli eorum ipsâ die, vel aliâ septimanæ sanctæ pro conculcatione et minctione prædictis consueverunt convenire !

" 14. That they worshipped a cat which was placed in the midst of the congregation.

" 15. That they did these things in contempt of Christ and the orthodox faith.

" 16. That they did not believe the sacrament of the altar.

" 17. That some of them did not.

" 18. That the greater part did not.

" 19. That they believed not the other sacraments of the church.

" 20. That the priests of the order did not utter the words

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by which the body of Christ is consecrated in the canon of the mass.

" 21. That some of them did not.

" 22. That the greater part did not.

" 23. That those who received them enjoined the same.

" 24. That they believed, and so it was told them, that the Grand Master of the order could absolve them from their sins.

" 25. That the visitor could do so.

" 26. That the preceptors, of whom many were laymen, could do it.

" 27. That they in fact did do so.

" 28. That some of them did.

" 29. That the Grand Master confessed these things of himself, even before he was taken, in the presence of great persons.

" 30. That in receiving brothers into the order, or when about to receive them, or some time after having received them, the receivers and the persons received kissed one another on the mouth, the navel. . . . . ! !

. . . . . .

" 36. That the receptions of the brethren were made clandestinely.

" 37. That none were present but the brothers of the said order.

" 38. That for this reason there has for a long time been a vehement suspicion against them."

The succeeding articles proceed to charge the Templars with crimes and abominations too horrible and disgusting to be named.

"46. That the brothers themselves had idols in every province, viz. heads; some of which had three faces, and some one, and some a man's skull.

"47. That they adored that idol, or those idols, especially in their great chapters and assemblies.

"48. That they worshipped it.

"49. As their God.

"50. As their Saviour.

"51. That some of them did so.

"52. That the greater part did.

"53. That they said that that head could save them.

"54. That it could produce riches.

"55. That it had given to the order all its wealth.

"56. That it caused the earth to bring forth seed.

"57. That it made the trees to flourish.

"58. That they bound or touched the head of the said idols with cords, wherewith they bound themselves about their shirts, or next their skins.

"59. That at their reception the aforesaid little cords, or others of the same length, were delivered to each of the brothers.

"60. That they did this in worship of their idol.

"61. That it was enjoined them to gird themselves with the said little cords, as before mentioned, and continually to wear them.

"62. That the brethren of the order were generally received in that manner.

"63. That they did these things out of devotion.

"64. That they did them everywhere.

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" 65. That the greater part did.

" 66. That those who refused the things above mentioned at their reception, or to observe them afterwards, were killed or cast into prison." *

. . . . . .

The remaining articles, twenty-one in number, are directed principally to the mode of confession practised amongst the fraternity, and to matters of heretical depravity. Such an accusation as this, justly remarks Voltaire, *destroys itself.*

Brother William de la More, and thirty more of his brethren, being interrogated before the inquisitors, positively denied the guilt of the order, and affirmed that the Templars who had made the confession alluded to in France *had lied.* They were ordered to be brought up separately to be examined.

On the 23rd of October, brother William Raven, being interrogated as to the mode of his reception into the order, states that he was admitted by brother William de la More, the Master of the Temple at Temple Coumbe, in the diocese of Bath; that he petitioned the brethren of the Temple that they would be pleased to receive him into the order to serve God and the blessed Virgin Mary, and to end his life in their service; that he was asked if

* The original draft of these articles of accusation, with the corrections and alterations, is preserved in the Tresor des Chartres. *Raynouard*, Monumens Historiques, p. 50, 51. The proceedings against the Templars in England are preserved in MS. in the British Museum, Harl. No. 252, 62, f. p. 113; No. 247, 68, f. p. 144. Bib. Cotton. Julius, b. xii. p. 70; and in the Bodleian Library and Ashmolean Museum. The principal part of them has been published by *Wilkins* in the Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, tom. 2, p. 329—401, and by *Dugdale*, in the Monast. Angl. vol. 6, part ii. p. 844—848.

he had a firm wish so to do; and replied that he had; that two brothers then expounded to him the strictness and severity of the order, and told him that he would not be allowed to act after his own will, but must follow the will of the preceptor; that if he wished to do one thing, he would be ordered to do another; and that if he wished to be at one place, he would be sent to another; that having promised so to act, he swore upon the holy gospels of God to obey the Master, to hold no property, to preserve chastity, never to consent that any man should be unjustly despoiled of his heritage, and never to lay violent hands on any man, except in self-defence, or upon the Saracens. He states that the oath was administered to him in the chapel of the preceptory of Temple Coumbe, in the presence only of the brethren of the order; that the rule was read over to him by one of the brothers, and that a learned serving brother, named John de Walpole, instructed him, for the space of one month, upon the matters contained in it. The prisoner was then taken back to the Tower, and was directed to be strictly separated from his brethren, and not to be suffered to speak to any one of them.

The next two days (Oct. 24 and 25) were taken up with a similar examination of Brothers Hugh de Tadecastre and Thomas le Chamberleyn, who gave precisely the same account of their reception as the previous witness. Brother Hugh de Tadecastre added, that he swore to succour the Holy Land with all his might, and defend it against the enemies of the christian faith; and that after he had taken the customary oaths and the three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, the mantle of the order with the cross and the coif were delivered to him in the church,

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in the presence of the Master, the knights, and the brothers, all seculars being excluded. Brother Thomas le Chamberleyn added, that there was the same mode of reception in England as beyond sea, and the same mode of taking the vows; that all seculars were excluded, and that when he himself entered the Temple church to be professed, the door by which he entered was closed after him; that there was another door looking into the cemetery, but that no stranger could enter that way. On being asked why none but the brethren of the order were permitted to be present at the reception and profession of brothers, he said he knew of no reason, but that it was so written in their book of rules.

Between the 25th of October and the 17th of November, thirty-three knights, chaplains, and serving brothers, were examined, all of whom positively denied every article imputing crime or infidelity to their order. When Brother Himbert Blanke was asked why they had made the reception and profession of berethren *secret* he replied, *Through their own unaccountable folly*. They avowed that they wore little cords round their shirts, but for no bad end; they declared that they never touched idols with them, but that they were worn by way of penance, or according to a knight of forty-three years' standing, by the instruction of the holy father St. Bernard. Brother Richard de Goldyngham says that he knows nothing further about them than that they were called *girdles of chastity*. They state that the receivers and the party received kissed one another on the face, but everything else regarding the kissing was false, abominable, and had never been done.

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Brother Radulph de Barton, priest of the order of the Temple, and custos or guardian of the Temple church at London, stated, with regard to Article 24, that the Grand Master in chapter could absolve the brothers from offences committed against the rules and observances of the order, but not from private sin, as he was not a priest; that it was perfectly true that those who were received into the order swore not to reveal the secrets of the chapter, and that when any one was punished in the chapter, those who were present at it durst not reveal it to such as were absent; but if any brother revealed the mode of his reception, he would be deprived of his chamber, or else stripped of his habit. He declares that the brethren were not prohibited from confessing to priests not belonging to the order of the Temple; and that he had never heard of the crimes and iniquities mentioned in the articles of inquiry previous to his arrest, except as regarded the charges made against the order by Bernard Peletin, when he came to England from king Philip of France. He states that he had been guardian of the Temple church for ten years, and for the last two years had enjoyed the dignity of preceptor at the same place. He was asked about the death of Brother Walter le Bacheler, knight, formerly preceptor of Ireland, who died at the Temple at London, but he declares that he knows nothing about it, except that the said Walter was fettered and placed in prison, and there died; that he certainly had heard that great severity had been practised towards him, but that he had not meddled with the affair on account of the danger of so doing; he admitted also that the aforesaid Walter was not buried in the cemetery of the Temple, as he was considered ex-

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communicated on account of his disobedience of his superior, and of the rule of the order.

Many of the brethren thus examined had been from twenty to thirty, forty, forty-two, and forty-three years in the order, and some were old veteran warriors who had fought for many a long year in the East, and richly merited a better fate. Brother Himbert Blanke, knight, preceptor of Auvergne, had been in the order thirty-eight years. He was received at the city of Tyre in Palestine, had been engaged in constant warfare against the infidels, and had fought to the last in defence of Acre. He makes in substance the same statements as the other witnesses; declares that no religious order believes the sacrament of the altar better than the Templars; that they truly believed all that the church taught, and had always done so, and that if the Grand Master had confessed the contrary, *he had lied.*

Brother Robert le Scott, knight, a brother of twenty-six years' standing, had been received at the Pilgrim's Castle, the famous fortress of the Knights Templars in Palestine, by the Grand Master, Brother William de Beaujeu, the hero who died so gloriously at the head of his knights at the last siege and storming of Acre. He states that from levity of disposition he quitted the order after it had been driven out of Palestine, and absented himself for two years, during which period he came to Rome, and confessed to the pope's penitentiary, who imposed on him a heavy penance, and enjoined him to return to his brethren in the East, and that he went back and resumed his habit at Nicosia in the island of Cyprus, and was re-admitted to the order by command

of the Grand Master, James de Molay, who was then at the head of the convent. He adds, also, that Brother Himbert Blanke (the previous witness) was present at his first reception at the Pilgrim's Castle. He fully corroborates all the foregoing testimony. JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1309.

Brother Richard de Peiteyyn, a member of forty-two years' standing, deposes that, in addition to the previous oaths, he swore that he would never bear arms against Christians except in his own defence, or in defence of the rights of the order; he declares that the enormities mentioned in the articles were never heard of before Bernard Peletin brought letters to his lord, the king of England, against the Templars.

On the 22nd day of the inquiry, the following entry was made on the record of the proceedings:—

"Memorandum. Brothers Philip de Mewes, Thomas de Burton, and Thomas de Staundon, were advised and earnestly exhorted to abandon their religious profession, who severally replied that *they would rather die* than do so."*

On the 19th and 20th of November, seven lay witnesses, unconnected with the order, were examined before the inquisitors in the chapel of the monastery of the Holy Trinity, but could prove nothing against the Templars that was criminal or tainted with heresy.

Master William le Dorturer, notary public, declared that the Templars rose at midnight, and held their chapters before dawn, and he *thought* that the mystery and secrecy of the receptions

* Actum in Capella infirmariæ prioratus Sanctæ Trinitatis præsentibus, etc. Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, tom. 3, p. 344. Ibid. p. 334—343.

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were owing to a bad rather than a good motive, but declared that he had never observed that they had acquired, or had attempted to acquire, anything unjustly. Master Gilbert de Bruere, clerk, said that he had never suspected them of anything worse than an *excessive correction* of the brethren. William Lambert, formerly a "messenger of the Temple," (nuntius Templi,) knew nothing bad of the Templars, and thought them perfectly innocent of all the matters alluded to. And Richard de Barton, priest, and Radulph de Rayndon, an old man, both declared that they knew nothing of the order, or of the members of it, but what was good and honourable.

On the 25th of November, a provincial council of the church, summoned by the archbishop of Canterbury, in obedience to a papal bull, assembled in the cathedral church of St. Paul. It was composed of the bishops, abbots, priors, heads of colleges, and all the principal clergy, who were called together to treat of the reformation of the English church, of the recovery and preservation of the Holy Land, and to pronounce sentence of absolution or of condemnation against singular persons of the order of the chivalry of the Temple in the province of Canterbury, according to the tenor of the apostolical mandate. The council was opened by the archbishop of Canterbury, who rode to St. Paul's on horseback. The bishop of Norwich celebrated the mass of the Holy Ghost at the great altar, and the archbishop preached a sermon in Latin upon the 20th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles; after which a papal bull was read, in which the holy pontiff dwells most pathetically upon the awful sins of the Templars, and their great and tremendous fall from their previous high estate.

Hitherto, says he, they have been renowned throughout the world as the special champions of the faith, and the chief defenders of the Holy Land, whose affairs have been mainly regulated by those brothers. The church, following them and their order with the plenitude of its especial favour and regard, armed them with the emblem of the cross against the enemies of Christ, exalted them with much honour, enriched them with wealth, and fortified them with various liberties and privileges. The holy pontiff displays the sad report of their sins and iniquities which reached his ears, filled him with bitterness and grief, disturbed his repose, smote him with horror, injured his health, and caused his body to waste away! He gives a long account of the crimes imputed to the order, of the confessions and depositions that had been made in France, and then bursts out into a paroxysm of grief, declares that the melancholy affair deeply moved all the faithful, that all Christianity was shedding bitter tears, was overwhelmed with grief, and clothed with mourning. He concludes by decreeing the assembly of a general council of the church at Vienne to pronounce the abolition of the order, and to determine on the disposal of its property, to which council the English clergy are required to send representatives.*

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After the reading of the bulls and the closing of the preliminary proceedings, the council occupied themselves for six days with ecclesiastical matters; and on the seventh day, being Tuesday, Dec. 2nd, all the bishops and members assembled in the chamber of the archbishop of Canterbury in Lambeth palace, in company with the papal inquisitors, who displayed before them the deposi-

* *Concil. Mag. Brit.* tom. 2, p. 305—308.

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tions and replies of the forty-three Templars, and of the seven witnesses previously examined. It was decreed that a copy of these depositions and replies should be furnished to each of the bishops, and that the council should stand adjourned until the next day, to give time for deliberation upon the premises.

On the following day, accordingly, (Wednesday, December the 3rd,) the council met, and decided that the inquisitors and three bishops should seek an audience of the king, and beseech him to permit them to proceed against the Templars in the way that should seem to them the best and most expedient for the purpose of eliciting the truth. On Sunday, the 7th, the bishops petitioned his majesty in writing, and on the following Tuesday they went before him with the inquisitors, and besought him that they might proceed against the Templars according to the ecclesiastical constitutions, and that he would instruct his sheriffs and officers to that effect. The king gave a written answer complying with their request, which was read before the council,* and, on the 16th of December, orders were sent to the gaolers, commanding them to permit the prelates and inquisitors to do with the bodies of the Templars that which should seem expedient to them according to ecclesiastical law. Many Templars were at this period wandering about the country disguised as secular persons, successfully evading pursuit, and the sheriffs were strictly commanded to use every exertion to capture them.† On Wednesday, the ecclesiastical council again met, and adjourned for the purpose of enabling the inquisitors to examine the prisoners confined in the castles of Lincoln and of York.

* *Concil. Mag. Brit.*, tom. 2, p. 312—314.

† Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 194, 195.

In Scotland, in the mean time, similar proceedings had been instituted against the order.* On the 17th of November, Brother Walter de Clifton being examined in the parish church of the Holy Cross at Edinburgh, before the bishop of St. Andrews and John de Solerio, the pope's chaplain, states that the brethren of the order of the Temple in the kingdom of Scotland received their orders, rules, and observances from the Master of the Temple in England, and that the Master in England received the rules and observances of the order from the Grand Master and the chief convent in the East;† that the Grand Master or his deputy was in the habit of visiting the order in England and elsewhere; of summoning chapters and making regulations for the conduct of the brethren, and the administration of their property. Being asked as to the mode of his reception, he states that when William de la More, the Master, held his chapter at the preceptory of Temple Bruere in the county of Lincoln, he sought of the assembled brethren the habit and the fellowship of the order; that they told him that he little knew what it was he asked, in seeking to be admitted to their fellowship; that it would be a very hard matter for him, who was then his own master, to become the servant of another, and to have no will of his own; but notwithstanding their representations of the rigour of their rules and observances, he still continued earnestly to seek their habit and fellowship. He states that they then led him to the chamber of the Master, where they held their chapter, and that there, on his

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* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 182.

† Notorium est quod fratres Hiberniæ et Scotiæ semper fuerunt præceptori Angliæ subjecti ita quod totum est una præceptoria.

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bended knees, and with his hands clasped, he again prayed for the habit and the fellowship of the Temple; that the Master and the brethren then required him to answer questions to the following effect:—Whether he had a dispute with any man, or owed any debts? whether he was betrothed to any woman? and whether he had any secret infirmity of body? or knew of anything to prevent him from remaining within the bosom of the fraternity? And having answered all these questions satisfactorily, the Master then asked of the surrounding brethren, "Do ye give your consent to the reception of brother Walter?" who unanimously answered that they did; and the Master and the brethren then standing up, received him the said Walter in this manner. On his bended knees, and with his hands joined, he solemnly promised that he would be the perpetual servant of the Master, and of the order, and of the brethren, for the purpose of defending the Holy Land. Having done this, the Master took out of the hands of a brother chaplain of the order the book of the holy gospels, upon which was depicted a cross, and laying his hands upon the book, and upon the cross, he swore to God and the blessed Virgin Mary to be for ever thereafter chaste, obedient, and to live without property. And then the Master gave to him the white mantle, and placed the coif on his head, and admitted him to the kiss on the mouth, after which he made him sit down on the ground, and admonished him to the following effect: that from thenceforth he was to sleep in his shirt, drawers, and stockings, girded with a small cord over his shirt; that he was never to tarry in a house where there was a woman in the family way; never to be present at a marriage or at the purifi-

cation of women; and likewise instructed and informed him upon several other particulars. Being asked where he had passed his time since his reception, he replied that he had dwelt three years at the preceptory of Blancradok in Scotland; three years at Temple Newsom in England; one year at the Temple at London, and three years at Aslakeby. Being asked concerning the other brothers in Scotland, he stated that John de Hueflete was Preceptor of Blancradok, the chief house of the order in that country, and that he and the other brethren having heard of the arrest of the Templars, threw off their habits and fled, and that he had not since heard aught concerning them. JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1309.

*Brother William de Middleton*, being examined, gave the same account of his reception, and added that he remembered that brother William de la More, the Master in England, went, in obedience to a summons, to the Grand Master beyond sea, as the superior of the whole order, and that in his absence Brother Hugh de Peraut, the visitor, removed several preceptors from their preceptories in England, and put others in their places. He further states, that he swore he would never receive any service at the hands of a woman, not even water to wash his hands with.

After the examination of the above two Templars, forty-one witnesses, chiefly abbots, priors, monks, priests, and serving men, and retainers of the order in Scotland, were examined upon various interrogatories, but nothing of a criminatory nature was elicited. The monks observed that the receptions of other orders were public, and were celebrated as great religious solemnities, and the friends, parents, and neighbours of the party about to take the

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vows were invited to attend; that the Templars, on the other hand, shrouded their proceedings in mystery and secrecy, and therefore they *suspected* the worst. The priests thought them guilty, because they were always *against the church!* Others condemned them because (as they say) the Templars closed their doors against the poor and the humble, and extended hospitality only to the rich and the powerful. The abbot of the monastery of the Holy Cross at Edinburgh declared that they appropriated to themselves the property of their neighbours, right or wrong. The abbot of Dumferlyn knew nothing of his own knowledge against them, but had *heard* much, and *suspected* more. The serving men and the tillers of the lands of the order stated that the chapters were held sometimes by night and sometimes by day, with extraordinary secrecy; and some of the witnesses had heard old men say that the Templars would *never have lost the Holy Land if they had been good Christians!**

In the mean time the proceedings against the order in France had taken a most extraordinary turn. From Paris the inquisitors had proceeded into the provinces, accompanied by lay commissioners, associated with them by the king's commands, and the poor Templars who were confined in their preceptories, and in the

* Et ad evidentius præmissorum testimonium reverendus in Christo pater dominus Willielmus, providentiâ divinâ S. Andreæ episcopus, et magister Johannes de Solerio prædicti sigilla sua præsenti inquisitioni appenderunt, et eisdem sigillis post subscriptionem meam eandem inquisitionem clauserunt. In quorum etiam firmius testimonium ego Willielmus de Spottiswod auctoritate imperiali notarius qui prædictæ inquisitioni interfui die, anno, et loco prædictis, testibus præsentibus supra dictis, signum meum solitum eidem apposui requisitus, et propriâ manu scripsi rogatus.—*Acta contra Templarios. Concil. Mag Brit.*, tom. 3, p. 380, 383.

dungeons of various jails and castles, were threatened, tortured, and persecuted with the same severity as their brethren of the chief house of the order at Paris. But the extreme violence and cruelty practised by the royal officers began to excite some sympathy in behalf of the imprisoned knights, notwithstanding the secrecy of the proceedings; and the Pope ventured to express dissatisfaction at the conduct of king Philip. He suspended the powers of the Grand Inquisitor, William de Paris, and inhibited the bishops of France from taking further cognizance of the affairs of the Templars, reserving them to himself; and he at the same time wrote to the king, telling him that he had sent the cardinals Berenger de Fredoli and Stephen de Lusy to his majesty to receive the persons and effects of the members of the order, and that he expected the king immediately to put them into their hands, or those of the bishop his nuncio. JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1309.

Philip wrote a very warm reply to this letter, telling the pope that the suspension of the powers of the grand inquisitor and of those of the bishops who, by a right essential to their order, were judges in matters of doctrine, could not but be prejudicial to religion; that the Templars would not fail to take advantage of it, and would flatter themselves with hopes of obtaining protection at his court. He upbraids the pope for his lukewarmness in the cause of religion, and declares that he cannot tolerate the unjust proceedings of the pope against the French bishops, without violating the oath that he took at his coronation. "It would be a most crying sin," says the royal hypocrite, "to throw such contempt upon those whom God hath sent; for our Lord saith, 'he that despiseth you despiseth me.' Who, holy father, is the sacrilegious

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wretch that dares advise you to despise these prelates, or rather Jesus Christ who has sent them?"

The king proceeds to exaggerate the wickedness of the Templars, observing that neither king, nor prince, nor private person, excepting such as belonged to the order, had ever been able to witness the ceremony of the admission of brethren, which was always kept strictly secret, and declares, in conclusion, that he is acting as the servant of God, the upholder of the catholic faith, and the defender of the church, and that neither he nor the bishops could comply with the pope's desires.*

Clement did not venture further to impede such a zealous servant of the Lord; he cancelled the bulls that he had prepared, and king Philip then made a show of placing the captive Templars and their property at the disposal of the officers appointed by the pope, but took care to retain the real management of the prosecution in his own hands.

The pope appointed an ecclesiastical commission to take a general juridical information against the order and prepare the necessary proofs of its guilt. The captive Templars were dragged before this tribunal, when nearly all those who had before made confessions of guilt, whilst suffering under the torments of the rack, revoked them and maintained their innocence, emphatically declaring that if at any future period, through fear of torture or imprisonment, they should be induced to make avowals of guilt, such avowals would be *false*.†

* Rex Catholicus, non ut accusator, non ut denuntiator, vel partialis promotor hæc suscepit, sed ut Dei minister, pugil fidei Catholicæ, legis divinæ zelator, etc. etc. *Dupuy*. Condamnation des Templiers. Tresor des Chartres. Layette I. n. 34, p. 11.

† Articuli et informatio contra Templarios MS. de Baluz. Bib. Imp. Paris. *Raynouard*, p. 52.

Some private gentlemen, friends or relations of the imprisoned Templars, came to Paris with money to procure advocates and legal assistance for the accused, when they were seized by the king's officers, denounced as fugitive Templars who had thrown off the habit of their order, and were cast into prison, where they were "put to the question," in order to obtain, through the medium of their confessions, when suffering under the torments of the rack, a solution of the pretended doubtful point.*

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On the 26th of November, James de Molay, the Grand Master of the Temple, having been brought before the ecclesiastical commissioners, boldly maintained the innocence of his order, and declared that he would undertake its defence with all his might; he represented to them, however, that he was a plain unlettered man, abandoned, unaided, and without succour, in the power of the pope and the king of France, reduced to receive the very means of subsistence from the hands of strangers, and unprovided with money, not having, as he affirmed, four sous to defray the expense of his defence. If furnished, however, with the requisite means and assistance, he undertook to make the innocence of the Templars apparent to all the world; "*even to the bishops, against whom I do confess,*" said he, "*that some of our people have been rather too ardent in the maintenance of their privileges.*"

The commissioners warned the Grand Master to be cautious and circumspect, and caused the confession which he had made before the cardinals at Chinon, and which is alluded to by the pope in his bull to the English bishops,† to be read over to him. Struck

*Raynouard*, p. 57.

† Mons. Raynouard shows clearly that this bull is incorrect in very many most important particulars, as is evident by comparing it with the record of the proceedings.

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with amazement, De Molay made three signs of the cross, indignantly exclaimed against it as a forgery, and declared that if the cardinals who had subscribed it had been of a different cloth he should know both what to do and what to say. "May it please Heaven," said he, "to punish these liars with the same punishment as that which the Saracens and Tartars inflict on lying slanderers, whose bellies they rip up and whose heads they sever from their bodies." *

During various examinations before these commissioners, the Grand Master urged the following circumstances in favour of his order. He declared that no churches were better furnished and adorned, with everything necessary for the due and solemn performance of divine service, than those of the Templars, not excepting even the cathedrals; that in no society was the virtue of almsgiving practised to such an extent as in that of the Temple, nor had any body of men whatever poured out their blood in defence of the christian faith so profusely and so devotedly as the Templars.

"Without *faith*," say the commissioners in reply, "these cares, these works, this valour, avail not to save the soul."

The GRAND MASTER.—"I swear that I believe in Jesus Christ, in the Holy Trinity, and in all the articles of the catholic faith. I acknowledge but one God, one faith, one baptism, one church, and I believe that when death separates the soul from the body there will be a judge of the good and the wicked."

The Grand Master humbly begs the bishops, in conclusion, to permit him to assist at mass and the other offices of the church, and to receive some apostolical assistance from their chaplains.

* Processus contra Templarios. *Dupuy*, p. 138, 139.

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Without giving a minute detail of the proceedings before these commissioners, it may be sufficient to observe that they adjourned from time to time, and that many knights from the various provinces of France, who were brought up to be examined before them, revoked their confessions or stigmatized them as forgeries, maintaining the innocence of their order in the most energetic terms, and declaring that they would continue to do so until the latest moment of their lives.*

On the 9th of January, A. D. 1310, the examination of witnesses was resumed at London, in the parish church of St. Dunstan's West, near the Temple. The rector of the church of St. Mary de la Strode declared that he had strong *suspicions* of the guilt of the Templars; he had, however, often been at the Temple church, and had observed that the priests performed divine service there just the same as elsewhere. William de Cumbrook, of St. Clement's church, near the Temple, the vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and many other priests and clergymen of different churches in London, all declared that they had nothing to allege against the order.†

On the 27th of January, Brother John de Stoke, a serving brother of the order of the Temple, of seventeen years' standing, being examined by the inquisitors in the chapel of the Blessed Mary of Berkyngecherche at London, states, amongst other things, that secular persons were allowed to be present at the burial of Templars; that the brethren of the order all received the sacra-

* Usque ad mortem—Usque ad finem—Adjiciens Ricardus, quia volebat salvare animam suam. Proces. contra Templarios. *Raynouard*, p. 71.

† Act. in ecclesiæ parochiali S. Dunstani prope Novum Templum.—Ib. p. 349.

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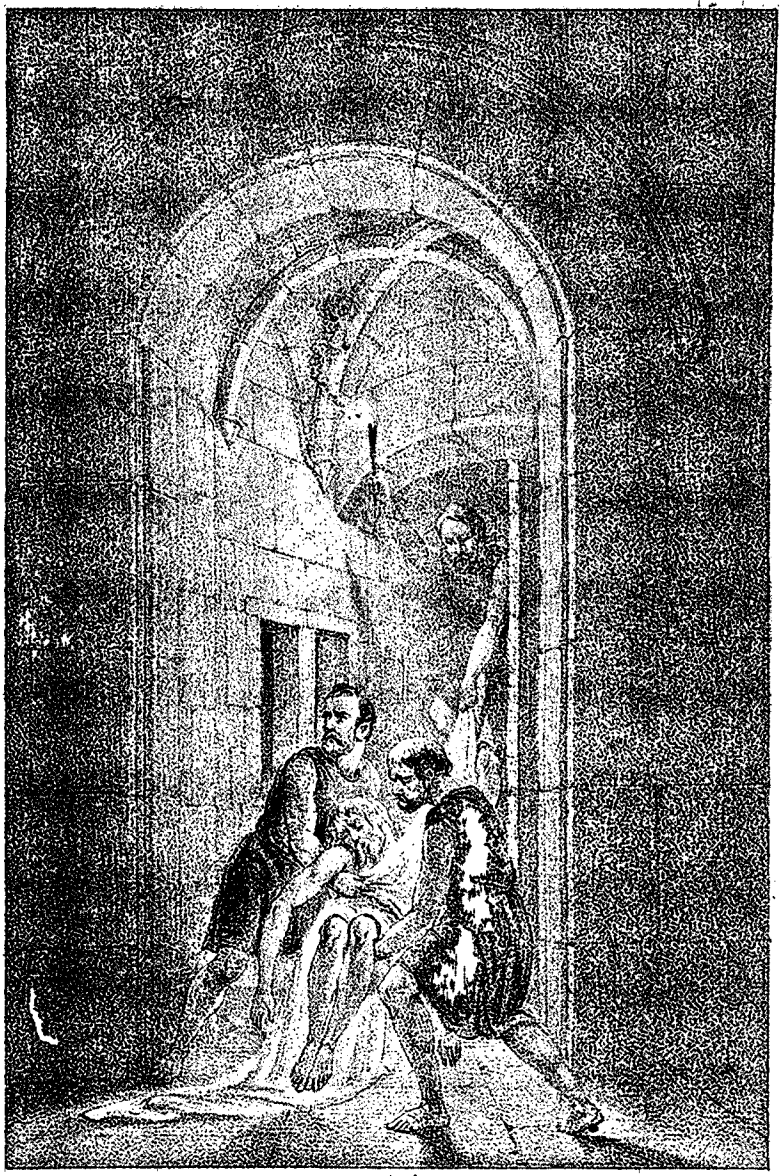
ments of the church at their last hour, and were attended to the grave by a chaplain of the Temple. Being interrogated concerning the burial of the Knight Templar Brother Walter le Bacheler, Grand Preceptor of Ireland, who had been confined in the penitential cell in the Temple, for disobedience to his superiors, and was reported to have been there starved to death, he deposes that the said knight was buried like any other Christian, except that he was not buried in the burying-ground, but in the court of the house of the Temple at London; that he confessed to Brother Richard de Grafton, a priest of the order, then in the island of Cyprus, and partook, as he believed, of the sacrament. He states that he himself and Brother Radulph de Barton carried him to his grave at the dawn of day, and that the deceased knight was in prison, as he believes, for the space of eight weeks; that he was not buried in the habit of his order, and was interred without the cemetery of the brethren, because he was considered to be excommunicated, in pursuance, as he believed, of a rule or statute among the Templars, to the effect that every one who privily made away with the property of the order, and did not acknowledge his fault, was deemed excommunicated.

Two other Templars were examined on the same 27th day of January, from whose depositions it appears that there were at that time many brethren of the order, natives of England, in the island of Cyprus.

On the 29th of January, twenty-four fresh articles, drawn up in an artful manner, were exhibited against the Templars, and thirty-four of the brethren, many of whom appeared for the first time before the inquisitors, were examined upon them in the churches of



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DOORWAY & STAIRCASE LEADING TO THE PENITENTIAL CELL.

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St. Botolph without Aldgate, St. Alphage, near Cripplegate, and St. Martin de Ludgate, London. They were asked if the same rules and observances did not extend throughout the entire order, and on their answering in the affirmative, they were questioned concerning the depositions and confessions made in France. They declared that the abominations mentioned in the depositions made in France were not observances of the order; that the brethren in France had never observed such things, and if they said they had *they lied.* From their statements, it appears that the bell of the Temple was rung to notify the assembling of the chapter, that the discipline was administered in the hall, in the presence of the assembled brethren, by the Master, who punished the delinquent on the bare back with a scourge made of leathern thongs, after which he himself absolved the offender from the guilt of a transgression against the rule of the order; but if he had been guilty of immoral conduct, he was sent to the priest for absolution. It appears also, that Brother James de Molay, before his elevation to the office of Grand Master, was visitor of the order in England, and had held chapters or assemblies of the brethren, at which he had enforced certain rules and regulations; that all the orders came from the Grand Master and chief convent in the East to the Grand Preceptor of England, who caused them to be published at the different preceptories.*

On the 1st of March, the king sent orders to the constable of the Tower, and to the sheriffs of Lincoln and of York, to obey the directions of the inquisitors, or of one bishop and of one inquisitor, with regard to the confinement of the Templars in separate cells, and he

* *Acta contra Templarios. Concil. Mag. Brit.*, tom. 2, p. 350, 351, 352.

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assigns William de Diene to assist the inquisitors in their arrangements. Similar orders were shortly afterwards sent to all the gaolers of the Templars in the English dominions.*

On the 3rd of March, five fresh interrogatories were exhibited by the inquisitors, upon which thirty-one Templars were examined at the palace of the bishop of London, the chapel of St. Alphage, and the chapter-house of the Holy Trinity. They were chiefly concerning the reception and profession of the brethren, the number that each examinant had seen received, their names, and as to whether the burials of the order were conducted in a clandestine manner. From the replies, it appears that many Templars had died during their imprisonment in the Tower. The twenty-sixth prisoner examined was the Master of the Temple, Brother William de la More, who gives an account of the number of persons he had admitted into the order during the period of his mastership, specifying their names. It is stated that many of the parishioners of the parish adjoining the New Temple had been present at the interment of the brethren of the fraternity, and that the burials were not conducted in a clandestine manner.

In Ireland, in the mean time, similar proceedings against the order had been carried on. Between the 11th of February and the 23rd of May, thirty Templars were examined in Saint Patrick's Church, Dublin, by Master John de Mareshall, the pope's commissary, but no evidence of their guilt was obtained. Forty-one witnesses were then heard, nearly all of whom were monks. They spoke merely from hearsay and suspicion, and the gravest charges brought by

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, ad ann. 1310, p. 202, 203.

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them against the fraternity appear to be, that the Templars had been observed to be inattentive to the reading of the holy Gospels at church, and to have cast their eyes on the ground at the period of the elevation of the host.*

On the 30th of March, the papal inquisitors opened their commission at Lincoln, and between that day and the 10th of April twenty Templars were examined in the chapter-house of the cathedral, amongst whom were some of the veterian warriors of Palestine, men who had moistened with their blood the distant plains of the far East in defence of that faith which they were now so infamously accused of having repudiated. Brother William de Winchester, a member of twenty-six years' standing, had been received into the order at the castle *de la Roca Guille*,, in the province of Armenia, bordering on Syria, by the valiant Grand Master William de Beaujeu. He states that the same mode of reception existed there as in England, and everywhere throughout the order. Brother Robert de Hamilton declares that the girdles were worn from an honourable motive, that they were called the girdles of Nazareth, because they had been pressed against the column of the Virgin at that place, and were worn in remembrance of the blessed Mary; but he says that the brethren were not compelled to wear them, but might make use of any girdle that they liked. With regard to the confessions made in France, they all say that if their brethren in that country confessed such things, *they lied !*†

At York, the examination commenced on the 28th of April, and

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 179, 180. *Concil. Mag. Brit.*, tom. 2, p. 374 to 380.

† Terrore tormentorum confessi sunt et *mentiti.—Concil. Mag. Brit.*, tom. 2, p. 365, 366, 367.

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lasted until the 4th of May, during which period twenty-three Templars, prisoners in York Castle, were examined in the chapter-house of the cathedral, and followed the example of their brethren in maintaining their innocence. Brother Thomas de Stanford, a member of thirty years' standing, had been received in the East by the Grand Master William de Beaujeu, and Brother Radulph de Rostona, a priest of the order, of twenty-three years' standing, had been received at the preceptory of Lentini in Sicily by Brother William de Canello, the Grand Preceptor of Sicily. Brother Stephen de Radenhall refused to reveal the mode of reception, because it formed part of the secrets of the chapter, and if he discovered them he would lose his chamber, be stripped of his mantle, or be committed to prison.*

On the 20th of May, in obedience to the mandate of the archbishop of York, an ecclesiastical council of the bishops and clergy assembled in the cathedral. The mass of the Holy Ghost was solemnly celebrated, after which the archbishop preached a sermon, and then caused to be read to the assembled clergy the papal bulls fulminated against the order of the Temple.† He exhibited to them the articles upon which the Templars had been directed to be examined; but as the inquiry was still pending, the council was adjourned until the 23rd of June of the following year, when they were to meet to pass sentence of condemnation, or of absolution,

* Depositiones Templariorum in Provinciâ Eboracensi.—*Concil. Mag. Brit.*, tom. 2, p. 371—373.

† Eodem anno (1310) XIX. die Maii apud Eborum in ecclesiâ cathedrali, ex mandato speciali Domini Papæ, tenuit dominus Archiepiscopus concilium provinciale. Prædicavitque et erat suum thema; *omnes isti congregati venerunt tibi*, factoque sermone, recitavit et legi

against all the members of the order in the province of York, in conformity with ecclesiastical law.* JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1310.

On the 1st of June, the examination was resumed before the papal inquisitors at Lincoln. Sixteen Templars were examined upon points connected with the secret proceedings in the general and particular chapters of the order, the imposition of penances therein, and the nature of the absolution granted by the Master. From the replies, it appears that the penitents were scourged three times with leathern thongs, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, after which they were absolved either by the Master or by a priest of the order, according to the particular circumstances of each case. It appears, also, that none but preceptors were present at the general chapters of the order, which were called together principally for the purpose of obtaining money to send to the Grand Master and the chief convent in Palestine.†

After closing the examinations at Lincoln, the abbot of Lagny and the canon of Narbonne returned to London, and immediately resumed the inquiry in that city. On the 8th and 9th days of June, Brother William de la More, the Master of the Temple, and thirty-eight of his knights, chaplains, and serjeants, were examined by the inquisitors in the presence of the bishops of London and Chichester, and the before-mentioned public notaries, in the priory of the Holy Trinity. They were interrogated for the most part concerning the

fecit *sequentem bullam horribilem contra Templarios*, &c. &c. *Hemingford* apud *Hearne*, vol. 1, p. 249.

* Processus observatus in concilio provinciali Eboracensi in ecclesiâ beati Petri Ebor. contra Templarios celebrato A. D. 1310, ex. reg. Will. Grenefeld Archiepiscopi Eborum, fol. 179, p. 1. —*Concil. Mag. Brit.*, tom. 2, p. 393.

† *Concil. Mag. Brit.*, tom. 2, p. 367.

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penances imposed, and the absolution pronounced in the chapters. The Master of the Temple was required to state what were the precise words uttered by him, as the president of the chapter, when a penitent brother, having bared his back and acknowledged his fault, came into his presence and received the discipline of the leathern thongs. He states that he was in the habit of saying, "Brother, pray to God that he may forgive you;" and to the bystanders he said, "And do ye, brothers, beseech the Lord to forgive him his sins, and say a *pater-noster*;" and that he said nothing further, except to warn the offender against sinning again. He declares that he did not pronounce absolution in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and relates, that in a general chapter, and as often as he held a particular chapter, he was accustomed to say, after prayers had been offered up, that all those who did not acknowledge their sins, or who appropriated to their own use the alms of the house, could not be partakers in the spiritual blessings of the order; but that which through shamefacedness, or through fear of the justice of the order, they dared not confess, he, out of the power conceded to him by God and the pope, forgave him as far as he was able. Brother William de Sautre, however, declares that the president of the chapter, after he had finished the flagellation of a penitent brother, said, "I forgive you, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," and then sent him to a priest of the order for absolution; and the other witnesses vary in their account of the exact words uttered, either because they were determined, in obedience to their oaths, not to reveal what actually did take place, or else (which is very probable) because the same form of proceeding was not always rigidly adhered to.

When the examination was closed, the inquisitors drew up a memorandum, showing that, from the apostolical letters, and the depositions and attestations of the witnesses, it was to be collected that certain practices had crept into the order of the Temple, which were not consistent with the orthodox faith.* JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D 1310.

* *Acta contra Templarios. Concil. Mag. Brit.*, tom. 2, p. 358.

## CHAPTER X.

The Templars in France having revoked their rack-extorted confessions, are tried as relapsed heretics, and burnt at the stake—The progress of the inquiry in England—The curious evidence adduced as to the mode of holding the chapters of the order—As to the penance enjoined therein, and the absolution pronounced by the Master—The Templars draw up a written defence, which they present to the ecclesiastical council—They are placed in separate dungeons, and put to the torture—Two serving brethren and a chaplain of the order then make confessions—Many other Templars acknowledge themselves guilty of heresy in respect of their belief in the religious authority of their Master—They make their recantations, and are reconciled to the church before the south door of Saint Paul's cathedral—The order of the Temple is abolished by the Pope—The last of the Masters of the Temple in England dies in the Tower—The disposal of the property of the order—Observations on the downfall of the Templars.

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Veggio 'l nuovo Pilato sì crudele,
Che ciò nol sazia, ma, senza decreto
Porta nel TEMPIO le cupide vele.

*Dante.* Del Purgatorio. Canto xx. 91.

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In France, on the other hand, the proceedings against the order had assumed a most sanguinary character. Many Templars, both in the capital and the provinces, who had made confessions of guilt whilst suffering upon the rack, had no sooner been released from the hands of their tormentors, and had recovered their health, than they

one after another disavowed their confessions, maintained the innocence of their order, and appealed to all their gallant actions in ancient and modern times, in refutation of the calumnies of their enemies. JAMES DE MOLAY. A.D. 1310.

On the 28th of March, five hundred and forty-six Templars, who persisted in maintaining the innocence of their order, were assembled in the garden of the bishop's palace at Paris, to hear the articles of accusation read over to them, and a committee of their number was authorised to draw up a written defence. They asked to have an interview with the Grand Master and the heads of the order, but this was refused. The total number of Templars immured in the prisons of Paris, was nine hundred. In the course of the examinations before the papal commissioners, Brother Laurent de Beaume produced a letter which had been sent to him and his fellow prisoners at Sens, warning them against a retractation of their confessions in the following terms: "*Sachez que notre pere le pape a mande que tuit cil qui aurent fayt les suizitos confessions devant ses anvouez, qui en cele confessions ne voudroient perseverès, que il sorent mis a damnazion et destruit au feu.*"* This threat was carried into execution, and Brother Laurent de Beaume was one of the first victims.

The defence drawn up by the brethren and presented to the commissioners by Brother Peter de Bologna, begins by stating the origin and objects of their institution, the vows to which they subjected themselves, and the mode in which persons were received into the fraternity. They give a frightful account of the tortures that had been inflicted upon them, and declare that those who had escaped with life from the hands of the tormentors, were either ruined in

* Processus contra Templarios, *Raynouard*, p. 75, ed. 1813.

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health or injured in intellect, and that as pardon and forgiveness had been freely offered to those knights who would confess, it was not wonderful that false confessions had been made. They observed that a vast number of knights had died in prison, and they exhorted the commissioners to interrogate the guards, jailers, and executioners, and those who saw them in their last moments, concerning the declarations and confessions they had made at the peril of their souls when dying. They maintained that it was a most extraordinary thing that so many knights of distinguished birth and noble blood, members of the most illustrious families in Europe, should have remained from an early age up to the day of their death, members of the order, and should never, in days of sickness, or at the hour of death, have revealed any of the horrid iniquities and abominations charged against it.*

The statements and defences of these knights, their firmness and fortitude, and noble bearing and demeanour, appear to have produced a favourable impression upon the commissioners, and the turn that affairs seemed to be taking proved not at all satisfactory to Philip. All the Templars, indeed, who had made confessions were rapidly following one another's example in retracting them, and maintaining their innocence, and the king hastened to arrest the unfavourable march of events.

The archbishop of Sens, whose ecclesiastical authority extended over the diocese of Paris, had recently departed this life, and the king succeeded in obtaining the vacant see for Philip de Martigny, a creature of his own, who was installed therein in the month of April of the present year. In a letter to Clement urging this appoint-

* Extraits d'un registre intitulé Processus contra Templarios.—*Dupuy*, 174, ed. 1700.

ment, Philip reminds the Holy Pontiff that the new archbishop would have to preside over a provincial council wherein would be transacted many things which immediately concerned the *glory of God, the stability of the faith, and of the Holy church.* "Let not the youth of the prelate," says the king, "make you think that he is wanting in capacity; he is of a tolerable age, and with God's assistance, his acts will prove to you how much he is above his age."*

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Immediately after the enthronement of this new archbishop, the provincial council of Sens was convoked at Paris, and on the 10th of May, all the Templars who had revoked their confessions, and had come forward to maintain the innocence of their order, were summoned before it. In vain did the Templars appeal to the commissioners, and seek their protection against the archbishop and his suffragans, and in vain did they request to be permitted to forward an appeal to the Pope. The commissioners represented to them that the archbishop of Sens and his suffragans formed a perfectly independent tribunal, over which they had no authority or control; that they were merely charged by the Pope with the collection of information concerning the crimes charged against the Templars, and had no pretence for interfering with the proceedings of the council of Sens.

The poor Templars were accordingly dragged before this new tribunal, which was under the direct influence of the tyrant Philip, and sentence of death was passed upon them by the archbishop, in the following terms:—

"You have avowed," said he, "that the brethren who are re-

* *Baluz* collect. act. vet. p. 144. *Rayn.* 93.

JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1310.

ceived into the order of the Temple are compelled to renounce Christ and spit upon the cross, and that you yourselves have participated in that crime: you have thus acknowledged that you have fallen into the sin of *heresy*. By your confession and repentance you had merited absolution, and had once more become reconciled to the church. As you have revoked your confession, the church no longer regards you as reconciled, but as having fallen back to your first errors. You are therefore, *relapsed heretics (!)* and as such, we condemn you to the fire."*

As soon as the commissioners had received intelligence of this extraordinary decree, they despatched messengers to the archbishop and his suffragans praying them to delay the execution of their sentence, as very many persons affirmed that the Templars who died in prison had proclaimed with their last breath the innocence of their order.

But these representations were of no avail.

The archbishop, who was paying the price of his elevation to a hard creditor, proceeded to make short work of the business.

The very next morning, (Tuesday, May 12,) fifty-four Templars were handed over to the secular arm, and were led out to execution by the king's officers. They were conducted, at day-break, into the open country, in the environs of the Porte St. Antoine des Champes at Paris, and were there fastened to stakes driven into the ground, and surrounded by fagots and charcoal. In this situation, they saw

* *Joan. Can. Sanct. Vict.* Contin. de *Nangis*, ad ann. 1310. Multi eorum revocant quod dixerant. Movetur quæstio contra eos, utrum talis revocatio possit dici relapsio, et judicatur contra eos quod sic, unde Parisiis comburuntur quinquaginta quatuor, stantibus eis in proposito, quod veri Catholici essent. Ex secundâ vitâ Clementis V. p. 37.

the torches lighted, and the executioners approaching to accomplish their task, and they were once more offered pardon and favour if they would *confess the truth;* they persisted in the maintenance of the innocence of their order, and were burnt to death in a most cruel manner before slow fires, their voices being heard to the last through the wreathing smoke, invoking the blessing and the mercy of the Lord, and calling on the Holy Virgin and all the saints.* All historians speak with admiration of the heroism and intrepidity with which they met their fate.

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Many hundred other Templars were dragged from the dungeons of Paris before the archbishop of Sens and his council. Those whom neither the agony of torture nor the fear of death could overcome, but who remained stedfast amid all their trials in the maintenance of the innocence of their order, were condemned to perpetual imprisonment as *unreconciled heretics;* whilst those who, having made the required confessions of guilt, continued to persevere in them, received absolution, were declared reconciled to the church, and were set at liberty.† Notwithstanding the terror inspired by these executions, many of the Templars still persisted in the revocation of their

* Ils eurent moult a souffrir de peine et douleur, et ne voulurent onc rien recognoitre en leur destruction, pour laquelle chose ils estimoient que leurs ames en peurent avoir perpetuel damnement. . . . apres ce en suivant la veille de l'Ascension Notre Seigneur, les autres Templiers furent ars et la chair et les os ramenez en poudre, desquels l'un etoit aumônier du Roy qui tant d'honneur avoit eu en ce monde.—*Dupuy.* Chron. Cornel *Zanflict* apud *Martene,* tom. 5, col. 159. *Bocat.* de cas. vir. illustr. lib. ix. cap. 21.—*Raynouard.*

† Illi qui præfatos casus enormes de se et aliis publice confessi sunt et posteà negarunt velut *relapsi* combusti sunt. Qui nunquam voluerunt fateri in carceribus detinentur. Qui verò primò confessi sunt et semper confitentur, pœnitentes et veniam postulantes *libere sunt dimissi.* *Joan. Can. Sti. Vict.* Contin. de *Nangis,* ad ann. 1310.

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confessions, which they stigmatized as the result of insufferable torture, and boldly maintained the innocence of their order.

On the 18th of August, four other Templars were condemned as relapsed heretics by the council of Sens, and were likewise burnt by the Porte St. Antoine; and it is stated that a hundred and thirteen Templars were, from first to last, burnt at the stake in Paris. Many others were burned in Lorraine; in Normandy; at Carcassone; and nine, or, acccording to some writers, twenty-nine, were burnt by the archbishop of Rheims at Senlis! King Philip's officers, indeed, not content with their inhuman cruelty towards the living, invaded the sanctity of the tomb; they dragged a dead Templar, who had been treasurer of the Temple at Paris, from his grave, and burnt the mouldering corpse as a heretic. In the midst of all these sanguinary atrocities, the examinations continued before the ecclesiastical tribunals. Many aged and illustrious warriors, who merited a better fate, appeared before their judges pale and trembling. At first they revoked their confessions, declared their innocence, and were remanded to prison; and then, panic-stricken, they demanded to be led back before the papal commissioners, when they abandoned their retractations, persisted in their previous avowals of *guilt*, humbly expressed their sorrow and repentance, and were then pardoned, absolved, and reconciled to the church! The torture still continued to be applied, and out of thirty-three Templars confined in the chateau d'Alaix, four died in prison, and the remaining twenty confessed, amongst other things, the following absurdities:—that in the provincial chapter of the order held at Montpelier, the Templars set up a head and worshipped it; that the devil often appeared there in the shape of a cat, and conversed with the assembled brethren,

and promised them a good harvest, with the possession of riches, and all kinds of temporal property. Some asserted that the head worshipped by the fraternity possessed a long beard; others that it was a woman's head; and one of the prisoners declared that as often as this wonderful head was adored, a great number of devils made their appearance in the shape of beautiful women . . . . !!* JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1310.

We must now unfold the dark page in the history of the order in England. All the Templars in custody in this country had been examined separately and apart, and had, notwithstanding, deposed in substance to the same effect, and given the same account of their reception into the order, and of the oaths that they took. Any reasonable and impartial mind would consequently have been satisfied of the truth of their statements; but it was not the object of the inquisitors to obtain evidence of the *innocence*, but proof of the *guilt* of the order. At first, king Edward the Second, to his honour, forbade the infliction of torture upon the illustrious members of the Temple in his dominions —men who had fought and bled for Christendom, and of whose piety and morals he had a short time before given such ample testimony to the principal sovereigns of Europe. But the virtuous resolution of the weak king was speedily overcome by the all-powerful influence of the Roman pontiff, who wrote to him in the month of June, upbraiding him for preventing the inquisitors from submitting the Templars to the discipline of the rack.†

* *Raynouard*, p. 155.

† Inhibuisti ne contra ipsas personas et ordinem per *quæstiones* ad inquirendum super eisdem criminibus procedatur, quamvis iidem Templarii diffiteri dicuntur super eisdem articulis veritatem . . . . . Attende, quæsumus, fili carissime, et prudenti deliberatione considera, si

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Influenced by the admonitions of the pope, and the solicitations of the clergy, king Edward, on the 26th of August, sent orders to John de Crumbewell, constable of the tower, to deliver up all the Templars in his custody, at the request of the inquisitors, to the sheriffs of London, in order that the inquisitors might be able to proceed more conveniently and effectually with their inquisition.* And on the same day he directed the sheriffs to receive the prisoners from the constable of the Tower, and cause them to be placed in the custody of gaolers appointed by the inquisitors, to be confined in prisons or such other convenient places in the city of London as the inquisitors and bishops should think expedient, and generally to permit them to do with the bodies of the Templars whatever should seem fitting, in accordance with ecclesiastical law. He directs, also, that from thenceforth the Templars should receive their sustenance at the hands of such newly-appointed gaolers.†

On the Tuesday after the feast of St. Matthew, (Sept. 21st,) the ecclesiastical council again assembled at London, and caused the inquisitions and depositions taken against the Templars to be read, which being done, great disputes arose touching various alterations observable in them. It was at length ordered that the Templars should be again confined in separate cells in the prisons of London; that fresh interrogatories should be prepared, to see if by such means the *truth* could be extracted, and

hoc tuo honori et saluti conveniat, et statui congruat regni tui. Arch. secret. Vatican. Registr. literar. curiæ anno 5 domini Clementis Papæ 5.—*Raynouard*, p. 152.

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, ad ann. 1310, p. 224.

† Ib. p. 224, 225, claus. 4, E. 2, M. 22.

if by straitenings and confinement they would *confess nothing further*, then the torture was to be applied; but it was provided that the examination by torture should be conducted without the PERPETUAL MUTILATION OR DISABLING OF ANY LIMB, AND WITHOUT A VIOLENT EFFUSION OF BLOOD! and the inquisitors and the bishops of London and Chichester were to notify the result to the archbishop of Canterbury, that he might again convene the assembly for the purpose of passing sentence, either of absolution or of condemnation. These resolutions having been adopted, the council was prorogued, on the following Saturday, *de die in diem*, until the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, A. D. 1311.* JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1310.

On the 6th of October, a fortnight after the above resolution had been formed by the council, the king sent fresh instructions to the constable of the Tower, and the sheriffs of London, directing them to deliver up the Templars, one at a time, or altogether, and receive them back in the same way, at the will of the inquisitors.† The gaolers of these unhappy gentlemen seem to have been more merciful and considerate than their judges, and to have manifested the greatest reluctance to act upon the orders sent from the king. On the 23rd of October, further and more peremptory commands were forwarded to the constable of the Tower, distinctly informing him that the king, on account of his respect for the holy apostolic see, had lately conceded to the pre-

* Et si per hujusmodi arctationes et separationes nihil aliud, quam prius, vellent confiteri, quod extunc *quæstionarentur*; ita quod *quæstiones* illæ fierent ABSQUE MUTILATIONE ET DEBILITATIONE PERPETUA ALICUJUS MEMBRI, ET SINE VIOLENTA SANGUINIS EFFUSIONE.—*Concil. Mag. Brit.*, tom. 2, p. 314.

† Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 227, 228.

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lates and inquisitors deputed to take inquisition against the order of the Temple, and the Grand Preceptor of that order in England, the power of ordering and disposing of the Templars and their bodies, of examining them by TORTURE or otherwise, and of doing to them whatever they should deem expedient, according to the ecclesiastical law; and he again strictly enjoins the constable to deliver up all the Templars in his custody, either together or separately, or in any way that the inquisitors or one bishop and one inquisitor may direct, and to receive them back when required so to do.* Corresponding orders were again sent to the sheriffs, commanding them, at the requisition of the inquisitors, to get the Templars out of the hands of the constable of the Tower, to guard them in convenient prisons, and to permit certain persons deputed by the inquisitors to see that the imprisonment was properly carried into effect, to do with the bodies of the Templars whatever they should think fit according to ecclesiastical law. When the inquisitors, or the persons appointed by them, had done with the Templars what they pleased, they were to deliver them back to the constable of the Tower, or his lieutenant, there to be kept in custody as before.† Orders were likewise sent to the constable of the castle of Lincoln, and to the mayor and bailiffs of the city of Lincoln, to the same effect. The king also

* Cum nuper, OB REVERIENTIAM SEDIS APOSTOLICÆ, concessimus prælatis et inquisitoribus ad inquirendum contra ordinem Templariorum, et contra Magnum Præceptorem ejusdem ordinis in regno nostro Angliæ, quod iidem prælati et inquisitores, de ipsis Templariis et eorum corporibus IN QUÆRESTIONIBUS, et aliis ad hoc convenientibus ordinent et faciant, quoties voluerint, id quod eis secundum legem ecclesiasticam, videbitur faciendum, &c.—Teste rege apud Linliscu in Scotiâ, 23 die Octobris. Ibid. tom. 3, p. 228, 229.

† Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 229.

directed Roger de Wyngfeld, clerk, guardian of the lands of the Templars, and William Plummer, sub-guardian of the manor of Cressing, to furnish to the king's officers the sums required for the keep, and for the expenses of the detention of the brethren of the order.* JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1310.

On the 22nd of November the king condescended to acquaint the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of his faithful city of London, that out of reverence to the pope he had authorised the inquisitors, sent over by his holiness, to question the Templars by TORTURE; he puts them in possession of the orders he had sent to the constable of the Tower, and to the sheriffs; and he commands them, in case it should be notified to them by the inquisitors that the prisons provided by the sheriffs were insufficient for their purposes, to procure without fail fit and convenient houses in the city, or near thereto, for carrying into effect the contemplated measures; and he graciously informs them that he will reimburse them all the expenses that may be incurred by them or their officers in fulfilling his commands.† Shortly afterwards the king again wrote to the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of London, acquainting them that the sheriffs had made a return to his writ, to the effect that the four gates (prisons) of the city were not under their charge, and that they could not therefore obtain them for the purposes required; and he commands the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty, to place those four gates at the disposal of the sheriffs.‡

On the 12th of December, all the Templars in custody at Lin-

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 230. † Ibid. p. 231. ‡ Ibid. p. 231, 232.

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coln were, by command of the king, brought up to London, and placed in solitary confinement in different prisons and private houses provided by the mayor and sheriffs. Shortly afterwards orders were given for all the Templars in custody in London to be loaded with chains and fetters; the myrmidons of the inquisitors were to be allowed to make periodical visits to see that the imprisonment was properly carried into effect, and were to be allowed to TORTURE the bodies of the Templars in any way that they might think fit.*

On the 30th of March, A. D. 1311, after some months trial of the above severe measures, the examination was resumed before the inquisitors, and the bishops of London and Chichester, at the several churches of St. Martin's Ludgate, and St. Botolph's Bishopsgate. The Templars had now been in prison in England for the space of three years and some months. During the whole of the previous winter they had been confined in chains in the dungeons of the city of London, compelled to receive their scanty supply of food from the officers of the inquisition, and to suffer from cold, from hunger, and from torture. They had been made to endure all the horrors of solitary confinement, and had none to solace or to cheer them during the long hours of their melancholy captivity. They had been already condemned collectively by the pope, as members of an heretical and idolatrous society, and as long as they continued to persist in the truth of their first confessions, and in the avowal of their innocence, they were treated as obstinate, unreconciled heretics, living in a state of excommunication, and doomed, when dead, to everlasting

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 232—235.

punishment in hell. They had heard of the miserable fate of their brethren in France, and they knew that those who had confessed crimes of which they had never been guilty, had been immediately declared reconciled to the church, had been absolved and set at liberty, and they knew that freedom, pardon, and peace could be immediately purchased by a confession of guilt; notwithstanding all which, every Templar, at this last examination, persisted in the maintenance of his innocence, and in the denial of all knowledge of, or participation in, the crimes and heresies imputed to the order. They declare that everything that was done in their chapters, in respect of absolution, the reception of brethren, and other matters, was honourable and honest, and might well and lawfully be done; that it was in no wise heretical or vicious; and that whatever was done was from the appointment, approbation, and regulation of all the brethren.* From their statements, it appears that the Master of the Temple in England was in the habit of summoning a general chapter of the order once a year, at which the preceptors of Ireland and of Scotland were present. These were always called together to take into consideration the affairs of the Holy Land, and to determine on sending succour to their brethren in the East. At the close of their examination the Templars were again sent back to their dungeons, and loaded with chains; and the inquisitors, disappointed of the desired confessions, addressed themselves to the enemies of the order for the necessary proofs of guilt.

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During the month of April, seventy-two witnesses were examined in the chapter-house of the Holy Trinity. They were nearly all

* *Acta contra Templarios, Concil. Mag. Brit.* tom. 2, p. 368–371.

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monks, Carmelites, Augustinians, Dominicans, and Minorites; their evidence is all hearsay, and the nature of it will be seen from the following choice specimens.

Henry Thanet, an Irishman, had *heard* that Brother Hugh de Nipurias, a Templar, deserted from the castle of Tortosa in Palestine, and went over to the Saracens, abjuring the christian faith; and that a certain preceptor of the Pilgrim's Castle was in the habit of making all the brethren he received into the order deny Christ; but the witness was unable to give either the name of the preceptor or of the persons so received. He had also *heard* that a certain Templar had in his custody a brazen head with two faces, which would answer all questions put to it!

Master John de Nassington declared that Milo de Stapleton and Adam de Everington, knights, told him that they had once been invited to a great feast at the preceptory of Templehurst, and were there informed that the Templars celebrated a solemn festival once a year, at which they worshipped a *calf!*

John de Eure, knight, sheriff of the county of York, deposed that he had once invited Brother William de la Fenne, preceptor of Wesdall, to dine with him, and that after dinner the preceptor drew a book out of his bosom, and delivered it to the knight's lady to read, who found a piece of paper fastened into the book, on which were written abominable heretical doctrines, to the effect that Christ was not the son of God, nor born of a virgin, but conceived of the seed of Joseph, the husband of Mary, after the manner of other men, and that Christ was not a true but a false prophet, and was not crucified for the redemption of man-

kind, but for his own sins; and many other things contrary to the christian faith. On the production of this important evidence, Brother William de la Fenne was called in and interrogated; he admitted that he had dined with the sheriff of York, and had lent his lady a book to read, but he swore that he was ignorant of the piece of paper fastened into the book, and of its contents. It appears that the sheriff of York had kept this dangerous secret to himself for the space of six years! JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1311.

William de la Forde, a priest, rector of the parish of Crofton in the diocese of York, had *heard* William de Reynbur, priest of the order of St. Augustine, who was then dead, say, that the Templar, Brother Patrick of Rippon, son of William of Gloucester, had confessed to him, that at his entrance into the order, he was led, clothed only in his shirt and trowsers, through a long passage to a secret chamber, and was there made to deny his God and his Saviour; that he was then shown a representation of the crucifixion, and was told that since he had previously honoured that emblem he must now dishonour it and spit upon it, and that he did so. "Item dictum fuit ei quod, depositis brachis, dorsum verteret ad crucifixum," and this he did bitterly weeping. After this they brought an image, as it were, of a calf, placed upon an altar, and they told him he must kiss that image, and worship it, and he did so; and after all this they covered up his eyes and led him about, kissing and being kissed by all the brethren, but he could not recollect in what part. The worthy priest was asked when he had first *heard* all these things, and he replied *after* the arrest of the brethren by the king's orders!

Robert of Oteringham, senior of the order of Minorites, stated

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that on one occasion he was partaking of the hospitality of the Templars at the preceptory of Ribstane in Yorkshire, and that when grace had been said after supper, the chaplain of the order reprimanded the brethren of the Temple, saying to them, "The devil will burn you," or some such words; and hearing a bustle amongst them, he got up to see what was the matter, and, as far as he recollects, he saw one of the brothers of the Temple, "brachis depositis, tenentem faciem versus occidentem et posteriora versus altare!" Being asked who it was that did this, he says he does not exactly remember. He then goes on to state, that about twenty years before that time, he was again the guest of the Templars, at the preceptory of Wetherby (query Feriby) in Yorkshire, and when evening came he heard that the preceptor was not coming to supper, as he was arranging some relics that he had brought with him from the Holy Land, and afterwards at midnight he heard a confused noise in the chapel, and getting up he looked through the keyhole, and saw a great light therein, either from a fire or from candles, and on the morrow he asked one of the brethren of the Temple the name of the saint in whose honour they had celebrated so grand a festival during the night, and that brother, aghast and turning pale, thinking he had seen what had been done amongst them, said to him, "Go thy way, and if you love me, or have any regard for your own life, never speak of this matter." This same "Senior of the Minorites" declares also that he had seen, in the chapel of the preceptory of Ribstane, a cross, with the image of our Saviour nailed upon it, thrown carelessly upon the altar, and he observed to a certain brother of the Temple, that the cross was in a most

indecent and improper position, and he was about to lift it up and stand it erect, when that same brother called out to him, "Lay down the cross and depart in peace!" JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1311.

Brother John de Wederal, another Minorite, sent to the inquisitors a written paper, wherein he stated that he had lately *heard* in the country, that a Templar, named Robert de Baysat, was once seen running about a meadow uttering, "Alas! alas! that ever I was born, seeing that I have denied God and sold myself to the devil!" Brother N. de Chinon, another Minorite, had *heard* that a certain Templar had a son who peeped through a chink in the wall of the chapter-room, and saw a person who was about to be professed, slain because he would not deny Christ, and afterwards the boy was asked by his father to become a Templar, but refused, and he immediately shared the same fate. Twenty witnesses, who were examined in each other's presence, merely repeated the above absurdities, or related similar ones.*

At this stage of the proceedings, the papal inquisitor, Sicard de Vaur, exhibited two rack-extorted confessions of Templars which had been obtained in France. The first was from Robert de St. Just, who had been received into the order by Brother Himbert, Grand Preceptor of England, but had been arrested in France, and there tortured by the myrmidons of Philip. In this confession, Robert de St. Just states that, on his admission to the vows of the Temple, he denied Christ, and spat *beside* the cross. The second confession had been extorted from Geoffrey de Gonville, Knight of the Order of the Temple, Preceptor of Aquitaine and

* Suspicio (quæ loco testis 21, in MS. allegatur,) probare videtur, quod omnes examinati in aliquo dejeraverunt, (pejeraverunt,) ut ex inspectione processuum apparet.—MS. Bodl. Oxon. f. 5. 2. *Concil.* tom. 2, p. 359.

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Poitou, and had been given on the 15th of November, A. D. 1307, before the grand inquisitor of France. In this confession, (which had been afterwards revoked, but of which revocation no notice was taken by the inquisitors,) Sir Geoffrey de Gonville states that he was received into the order in England in the house of the Temple at London, by Brother Robert de Torvile, knight, the Master of all England, about twenty-eight years before that time; that the master showed him on a missal the image of Jesus Christ on the cross, and commanded him to deny him who was crucified; that, terribly alarmed, he exclaimed, "Alas! my lord, why should I do this? I will on no account do it." But the master said to him, "Do it boldly; I swear to thee that the act shall never harm either thy soul or thy conscience;" and then proceeded to inform him that the custom had been introduced into the order by a certain bad Grand Master, who was imprisoned by a certain sultan, and could escape from prison only on condition that he would establish that form of reception in his order, and compel all who were received to deny Christ Jesus! but the deponent remained inflexible; he refused to deny his Saviour, and asked where were his uncle and the other good people who had brought him there, and was told that they were all gone; and at last a compromise took place between him and the master, who made him take his oath that he would tell all his brethren that he had gone through the customary form, and never reveal that it had been dispensed with! He states also that the ceremony was instituted in memory of St. Peter, who three times denied Christ!*

* This knight had been tortured in the Temple at Paris, by the brothers of St. Dominic, in

Ferinsius le Mareschal, a secular knight, being examined, declared that his grandfather entered into the order of the Temple, active, healthy, and blithesome as the birds and the dogs, but on the third day from his taking the vows he was dead, and, as he *now suspects*, was killed because he refused to participate in the iniquities practised by the brethren. An Augustine monk declared that he had heard a Templar say that a man after death had no more soul than a dog. Roger, rector of the church of Godmersham, swore that about fifteen years before he had an intention of entering into the order of the Temple himself, and consulted Stephen Queynterel, one of the brothers, on the subject, who advised him not to do so, and stated that they had *three* articles amongst themselves in their order, known only to God, the devil, and the brethren of the Temple, and the said Stephen would not reveal to the deponent what those articles were. JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1311.

The vicar of the church of Saint Clement at Sandwich had *heard* that a boy had secreted himself in the large hall where the Templars held their chapter, and heard the Master preach to the brethren, and explain to them in what mode they might enrich themselves; and after the chapter was concluded, one of the brothers, in going out of the hall, dropped his girdle, which the boy found and carried to the brother who had so dropped it, when the latter drew his sword and instantly slew him! But to

the presence of the grand inquisitor, and he made his confession when suffering on the rack; he afterwards revoked it, and was then tortured into a withdrawal of his revocation, notwithstanding which the inquisitor made the unhappy wretch, in common with others, put his signature to the following interrogatory, "Interrogatus utrum *vi* vel *metu carceris* aut *tormentorum* immiscuit in suâ depositione aliquam falsitatem, dicit *quod non*!"

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crown all, Brother John de Gertia, a Minorite, had *heard* from a certain woman called Cacocaca! who had it from Exvalettus, Preceptor of London, that one of the servants of the Templars entered the hall where the chapter was held, and secreted himself, and after the door had been shut and locked by the last Templar who entered, and the key had been brought by him to the superior, the assembled Templars jumped up and went into another room, and opened a closet, and drew therefrom a certain black figure with shining eyes, and a cross, and they placed the cross before the master, and the "culum idoli vel figuræ" they placed upon the cross, and carried it to the master, who kissed the said image, (in ano,) and all the others did the same after him; and when they had finished kissing, they all spat three times upon the cross, except one, who refused, saying, "I was a bad man in the world, and placed myself in this order for the salvation of my soul; what could I do worse? I will not do it;" and then the brethren said to him, "Take heed, and do as you see the order do;" but he answered that he would not do so, and then they placed him in a well which stood in the midst of their house, and covered the well up, and left him to perish. Being asked as to the time when the woman heard this, the deponent stated that she told it to him about fourteen years back at London, where she kept a shop for her husband, Robert Cotacota! This witness also knew a certain Walter Salvagyo of the family of Earl Warrenne, grandfather of the then earl, who, having entered into the order of the Temple, was about two years afterwards entirely lost sight of by his family, and neither the earl nor any of his friends could ever learn what had become of him.

John Walby de Bust, another Minorite, had *heard* John de Dingeston say that *he had heard* that there was in a secret place of the house of the Templars at London a gilded head, and that when one of the masters was on his deathbed, he summoned to his presence several preceptors, and told them that if they wished for power, and dominion, and honour, they must worship that head. JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1311.

Gasper de Nafferton, chaplain of the parish of Ryde, deposed that three years back he was in the employ of the Templars for about six months, during which period William de Pokelington was received into the order; that he well recollected that the said William made his appearance at the Temple on Sunday evening, with the equipage and habit of a member of the order, accompanied by Brother William de la More, the Master of the Temple, Brother William de Grafton, Preceptor of Ribbestane and Fontebriggs; and other brethren: that the same night, during the first watch, they assembled in the church, and caused the deponent to be awakened to say mass; that, after the celebration of the mass, they made the deponent with his clerk go out into the hall beyond the cloister, and then sent for the person who was to be received; and on his entry into the church one of the brethren immediately closed all the doors opening into the cloister, so that no one within the chambers could get out, and thus they remained till daylight; but what was done in the church the deponent knew not; the next day, however, he saw the said William clothed in the habit of a Templar, looking very sorrowful. The deponent also declared that he had threatened to peep through a secret door to see what was going on, but was warned that it was inevitable death so to do. He states

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that the next morning he went into the church, and found the books and crosses all removed from the places in which he had previously left them.

Brother John de Donyngton, of the order of the Minorites, the seventy-sixth witness examined, being sworn, deposed that some years back an old veteran of the Temple (whose name he could not recollect) told him that the order possessed four chief idols in England; one at London in the sacristy of the Temple; another at the preceptory of Bistelesham; a third at Bruere in Lincolnshire; and the fourth in some place beyond the Humber, (the name of which he had forgotten;) that Brother William de la More, the Master of the Temple, introduced the melancholy idolatry of the Templars into England, and brought with him into the country a great roll, whereon were inscribed in large characters the wicked practices and observances of the order. The said old veteran also told the deponent that many of the Templars carried idols about with them in boxes, &c. &c.

The deponent further states that he recollected well that a private gentleman, Master William de Shokerwyk, a short time back, had prepared to take the vows of the order, and carried his treasures and all the property he had to the Temple at London; and that as he was about to deposit it in the treasury, one of the brethren of the Temple heaved a profound sigh, and Master William de Shokerwyk having asked what ailed him, he immediately replied, "It will be the worse for you, brother, if you enter our order;" that the said Master William asked why, and the Templar replied, "You see us externally, but not internally; take heed what you do; but I shall say no more;" and the deponent further

declares, that on another occasion the said Master William entered into the Temple Hall, and found there an old Templar, who was playing at the game called Daly; and the old Templar observing that there was no one in the hall besides himself and the said Master William, said to the latter, "If you enter into our order, it will be the worse for you." JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1311.

The witness then goes into a rambling account of various transactions in the East, tending to show that the Templars were in alliance with the Saracens, and had acted with treachery towards the christian cause! *

The evidence given before this papal tribunal affords melancholy proof of the immorality, the credulity, and the profligacy of the age. Abandoned women were brought before the inquisitors, and were induced unblushingly to relate, in the presence of the archbishop of Canterbury and the English bishops, the most disgusting and ridiculous enormities; and evidence was taken down by notaries, and quietly listened to by the most learned and distinguished characters of the age, which in these days would be scouted with scorn and contempt from every court in Christendom.†

After the delivery of all this hearsay, these vague suspi-

* Acta contra Templarios, Concil. Mag. Brit. tom. 2, p. 350, 364.

‡ AGNES LOVECOTE dixit quod .... fratres aperuerunt quandam voltam et perduxerunt de illo loco monstrum quoddam ad formam seu imaginem diaboli, habens loco oculorum lapides rutilantes et illuminantes capitulum, cujus culum osculabantur omnes, primo Magister, et postea alii, et postea ponebant unam crucem nigram ad culum dicti monstri, et spuebant omnes in crucem ....!

"Deponit se audivisse à quâdam *domina* Agnete, quæ dicebat se audivisse à sorore cujusdam Templarii, quod cum ipsa soror denudasset fratrem suum post mortem, credens invenire signa salutis, invenit in braccis dicti Templarii fratris sui crucem pendentem contra anum ....!

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cions, and monstrous improbabilities, the notaries proceeded to arrange the valuable testimony adduced, and on the 22nd of April all the Templars in custody in the Tower and in the prisons of the city were assembled before the inquisitors and the bishops of London and Chichester, in the church of the Holy Trinity, to hear the depositions and attestations of the witnesses publicly read. The Templars required copies of these depositions, which were granted them, and they were allowed eight days from that period to bring forward any defences or privileges they wished to make use of. Subsequently, before the expiration of the eight days, the officer of the bishop of London was sent to the Tower with scriveners and witnesses, to know if they would then set up any matters of defence, to whom the Templars replied that they were unlettered men, ignorant of law, and that all means of defence were denied them, since they were not permitted to employ those who could afford them fit counsel and advice. They observed, however, that they were desirous of publicly proclaiming the faith, and the religion of themselves and of the order to which they belonged, of showing the privileges conceded to them by the chief pontiffs, and their own depositions taken before the inquisitors, all which they said they wished to make use of in their defence.

On the eighth day, being Thursday the 29th of April, they appeared before the papal inquisitors and the bishops of London and Chichester, in the church of All Saints of Berkyngecherche, and presented to them the following declaration, which they had drawn up amongst themselves, as the only defence they had to offer against the injustice, the tyranny, and the persecution of

their powerful oppressors; adding, that if they had in any way done wrong, they were ready to submit themselves to the orders of the church. JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1311.

This declaration is written in the Norman French of that day, and is as follows:

"*Conue chese seit a nostre honurable pere, le ercevesque de Canterbiere, primat de toute Engletere, e a touz prelaz de seinte Eglise, e a touz Cristiens, qe touz les freres du Temple que sumes iei assemblez et chescune singulere persone par sen sumes cristien nostre seignur Jesu Crist, e creoms en Dieu Pere omnipotent, qui fist ciel e terre, e en Jesu soen fiz, qui fust conceu du Seint Esperit, nez de la Virgine Marie, soeffrit peine e passioun, morut sur la croiz pour touz peecheours, descendist e enferns, e le tierz jour releva de mort en vie, e mounta en ciel, siet au destre soen Pere, e vendra au jour de juise, juger les vifs, e les morz, qui fu saunz commencement, e serra saunz fyn; e creoms comme seynte eglise crets, e nous enseigne. E que nostre religion est foundee sus obedience, chastete, vivre sans propre, aider a conquere la seint terre de Jerusalem, a force e a poer, qui Dieu nous ad preste. E nyoms e firmement en countredioms touz e chescune singulere persone, par sei toutes maneres de heresies e malvaistes, que sount encountre la foi de Seinte Eglise. E prioms pour Dieu e pour charite a vous, que estes en lieu nostre seinte pere l'apostoile, que nous puissoms aver lez drettures de seinte eglise, comme ceus que sount les filz de sainte eglise, que bien avoms garde, e tenu la foi, e la lei de seinte eglise, e nostre religion, la quele est bone, honeste e juste, solom les ordenaunces, e les privileges de la court de Rome avons grauntez, confermez, e canonizez par commun concile, les qels priviliges ensemblement ou*

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*lestablisement, e la regle sount en la dite court enregistrez. E mettoms en dur e en mal eu touz Cristiens saune noz anoisourz, par la ou nous avoms este conversaunt, comment nous avoms nostre vie demène. E se nous avoms rien mesprys de aucun parole en nos examinacions par ignorance de ſeu, si comme nous sumes genz laics prest sumes, a ester a lesgard de seint eglise, comme cely que mourust pour nouz en la beneite de croiz. E nous creoms fermement touz les sacremenz de seinte eglise. E nous vous prioms pour Dieu e pour salvacioun de vous almes, que vous nous jugez si comme vous volez respoundre pour vous et pour nous devaunt Dieu: e que nostre examinement puet estre leu e oii devaunt nous e devaunt lc people, salom le respouns e le langage que fust dit devaunt vous, e escrit en papier..**

"Be it known to our honourable father, the archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and to all the prelates of holy church, and to all Christians, that all we brethren of the Temple here assembled, and every of one of us are Christians, and believe in our Saviour Jesus Christ, in God the Father omnipotent, &c. &c. . . . ."

"And we believe all that the holy church believes and teaches us. We declare that our religion is founded on vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty, and of aiding in the conquest of the Holy Land of Jerusalem, with all the power and might that God affordeth us. And we firmly deny and contradict, one and all of us, all manner of heresy and evil doings, contrary to the faith of holy church. And for the love of God, and for charity, we beseech you, who represent our holy father the pope, that we may

* *Concil. Mag. Brit.* tom. 2, p. 364.

be treated like true children of the church, for we have well guarded and preserved the faith, and the law of the church, and of our own religion, the which is good, honest, and just, according to the ordinances and the privileges of the court of Rome, granted, confirmed, and canonized by common council; the which privileges, together with the rule of our order, are enregistered in the said court. And we would bring forward all Christians, (save our enemies and slanderers,) with whom we are conversant, and among whom we have resided, to say how and in what manner we have spent our lives. And if, in our examinations, we have said or done anything wrong through ignorance of a word, since we are unlettered men, we are ready to suffer for holy church like him who died for us on the blessed cross. And we believe all the sacraments of the church. And we beseech you, for the love of God, and as you hope to be saved, that you judge us as you will have to answer for yourselves and for us before God; and we pray that our examination may be read and heard before ourselves and all the people, *in the very language and words in which it was given before you, and written down on paper.*" JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1311.

The above declaration was presented by Brother William de la More, the Master of the Temple; the Knights Templars Philip de Mewes, Preceptor of Garwy; William de Burton, Preceptor of Cumbe; Radulph de Maison, Preceptor of Ewell; Michael de Baskevile, Preceptor of London; Thomas de Wothrope, Preceptor of Bistelesham; William de Warwick, Priest; and Thomas de Burton, Chaplain of the Order; together with twenty serving brothers. The same day the inquisitors and the two bishops pro-

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ceeded to the different prisons of the city to demand if the prisoners confined therein wished to bring forward anything in defence of the order, who severally answered that they would adopt and abide by the declaration made by their brethren in the Tower.

It appears that in the prison of Aldgate there were confined Brother William de Sautre, Knight, Preceptor of Samford; Brother William de la Ford, Preceptor of Daney; Brother John de Coningeston, Preceptor of Getinges; Roger de Norreis, Preceptor of Cressing; Radolph de Barton, priest, Prior of the New Temple; and several serving brethren of the order. In the prison of Crepelgate were detained William de Egendon, Knight, Preceptor of Schepeley; John de Moun, Knight, Preceptor of Dokesworth; and four serving brethren. In the prison of Ludgate were five serving brethren; and in Newgate was confined Brother Himbert Blanke, Knight, Grand Preceptor of Auvergne.

The above declaration of faith and innocence was far from agreeable to the papal inquisitors, who required a confession of *guilt*, and the torture was once more directed to be applied. The king sent fresh orders to the mayor and the sheriffs of the city of London, commanding them to place the Templars in separate dungeons; to load them with chains and fetters; to permit the myrmidons of the inquisitors to pay periodical visits to see that the wishes and intentions of the inquisitors, with regard to the severity of the confinement, were properly carried into effect; and lastly, to inflict TORTURE upon the bodies of the Templars, and generally to do whatever should be thought fitting and expedient in the premises, according to ecclesiastical law.* In con-

* Vobis, præfati vicecomites, mandamus quod illos, quos dicti prælati et inquisitorse, seu

formity with these orders, we learn from the record of the proceedings, that the Templars were placed in solitary confinement in loathsome dungeons; that they were put on a short allowance of bread and water, and periodically visited by the agents of the inquisition; that they were moved from prison to prison, and from dungeon to dungeon; were now treated with rigour, and anon with indulgence; and were then visited by learned prelates, and acute doctors in theology, who, by exhortation, persuasion, and by menace, attemped in every possible mode to wring from them the required avowals. We learn that all the engines of terror wielded by the church were put in force, and that torture was unsparingly applied "*usque ad judicium sanguinis!*" The places in which these atrocious scenes were enacted were the Tower, the prisons of Aldgate, Ludgate, Newgate, Bishopgate, and Crepelgate, the house formerly belonging to John de Banguel, and the tenements once the property of the brethren of penitence.* It appears that some French monks were sent over to administer the torture to the unhappy captives, and that they were questioned and examined in the presence of notaries whilst suffering under the torments of the rack. The relentless perseverance and the incessant exertions of the foreign inquisitors were at last rewarded by a splendid triumph over the powers of endurance of two poor serving brethren, and one chaplain of the

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aliquis eorum, cum uno saltem inquisitore, deputaverint ad supervidendum quod dicta custodia bene fiat, id supervidere; et corpora dictorum Templariorum in QUÆSTIONIBUS et aliis ad hoc convenientibus, ponere; et alia, quæ in hac parte secundum legem ecclesiasticam fuerint facienda, facere permittatis. Claus. 4, E. 2, m. 8. Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 290.

* *M. S. Bodl.* F. 5, 2. *Concil.* p. 364, 365. Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 228, 231, 232.

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order of the Temple, who were at last induced to make the long-desired avowals.

On the 23rd of June, Brother Stephen de Staplebrugge, described as an apostate and fugitive of the order of the Temple, captured by the king's officers in the city of Salisbury, deposed in the house of the head gaoler of Newgate, in the presence of the bishops of London and Chichester, the chancellor of the archbishop of Canterbury, Hugh de Walkeneby, doctor of theology, and other clerical witnesses, that there were two modes of profession in the order of the Temple, the one good and lawful, and the other contrary to the christian faith; that he himself was received into the order by Brother Brian le Jay, Grand Preceptor of England, at Dynneslee, and was led into the chapel, the door of which was closed as soon as he had entered; that a crucifix was placed before the Master, and that a brother of the Temple, with a drawn sword, stood on either side of him; that the Master said to him, "Do you see this image of the crucifixion?" to which he replied, "I see it, my lord;" that the Master then said to him, "You must deny that Christ Jesus was God and man, and that Mary was his mother; and you must spit upon this cross;" which the deponent, through immediate fear of death, did with his mouth, but not with his heart, and he spat *beside* the cross, and not on it; and then falling down upon his knees, with eyes uplifted, with his hands clasped, with bitter tears and sighs, and devout ejaculations, he besought the mercy and the favour of holy church, declaring that he cared not for the death of the body, or for any amount of penance, but only for the salvation of his soul.

On Saturday, the 25th of June, Brother Thomas Tocci de Thoroldeby, serving brother of the order of the Temple, described

as an apostate who had escaped from Lincoln after his examination at that place by the papal inquisitors, but had afterwards surrendered himself to the king's officers, was brought before the bishops of London and Chichester, the archdeacon of Salisbury, and others of the clergy in St. Martin's Church, in Vinetriâ; and being again examined, he repeated the statement made in his first deposition, but added some particulars with regard to penances imposed and absolutions pronounced in the chapter, showing the difference between sins and defaults, the priest having to deal with the one, and the Master with the other. He declared that the little cords were worn from honourable motives, and relates a story of his being engaged in a battle against the Saracens, in which he lost his cord, and was punished by the Grand Master for a default in coming home without it. He gives the same account of the secrecy of the chapters as all the other brethren, states that the members of the order were forbidden to confess to the friars mendicants, and were enjoined to confess to their own chaplains; that they did nothing contrary to the christian faith, and as to their endeavouring to promote the advancement of the order by any means, right or wrong, that exactly the contrary was the case, as there was a statute in the order to the effect, that if any one should be found to have acquired anything unjustly, he should be deprived of his habit, and be expelled the order. Being asked what induced him to become an apostate, and to fly from his order, he replied that it was through fear of death, because the abbot of Lagny, (the papal inquisitor,) when he examined him at Lincoln, asked him if he would not confess anything further, and he answered that he knew of nothing further to confess, unless he was to say things that were not true; and that *the abbot, laying*

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*his hand upon his breast, swore by the word of God that he would make him confess before he had done with him!* and that being terribly frightened, he afterwards bribed the gaoler of the castle of Lincoln, giving him forty florins to let him make his escape.

The abbot of Lagny, indeed, was as good as his word, for on the 29th of June, four days after this imprudent avowal, Brother Thomas Tocci de Thoroldeby was brought back to St. Martin's Church, and there, in the presence of the same parties, he made a third confession, in which he declares that, coerced by two Templars with drawn swords in their hands, he denied Christ with his mouth, but not with his heart; and spat *beside* the cross, but not on it; that he was required to spit upon the image of the Virgin Mary, but contrived, instead of doing so, to give her a kiss on the foot. He declares that he had heard Brian le Jay, the Master of the Temple at London, say a hundred times over, that Jesus Christ was not the true God, but a man; and that the smallest hair out of the beard of one Saracen, was of more worth than the whole body of any Christian. He declares that he was once standing in the presence of Brother Brian, when some poor people besought charity of him for the love of God and our lady the blessed Virgin Mary; and he answered, "*Que dame, alez vous pendre a vostre dame*"—"What lady, go and be hanged to your lady," and violently casting a halfpenny into the mud, he made the poor people hunt for it, although it was in the depth of a severe winter. He also relates that, at the chapters, the priest stood like a beast, and had nothing to do but to repeat the psalm, "God be merciful unto us, and bless us," which was read at the closing of the chapter. (The Templars, by the way, must have been strange idolaters to have closed their chapters, in which they

are accused of worshipping a cat, a man's head, and a black idol, with the reading of the beautiful psalm, "God be merciful unto us, and bless us, and show us the light of thy countenance, that *thy way may be known upon earth,* thy saving health among all nations," &c. Psalm lxvii.) This witness further states, that the priest had no power to impose a heavier penance than a day's fast on bread and water, and could not even do that without the permission of the brethren. He is made also to relate that the Templars always favoured the Saracens in the holy wars in Palestine, and oppressed the Christians! and he declares, speaking of himself, that for three years before he had never seen the body of Christ without thinking of the devil, nor could he remove that evil thought from his heart by prayer, or in any other way that he knew of; but that very morning he had heard mass with great devotion, and since then had thought only of Christ, and thinks there is no one in the order of the Temple whose soul will be saved, unless a reformation takes place.*

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Previous to this period, the ecclesiastical council had again assembled, and these last depositions of Brothers Stephen de Stapelbrugge and Thomas Tocci de Thoroldeby having been produced before them, the following solemn farce was immediately publicly enacted. It is thus described in the record of the proceedings:—

"To the praise and glory of the name of the most high Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, to the confusion of heretics, and the strengthening of all faithful Christians, begins the public record of the reconciliation of the penitent heretics, returning to the

* *Concil. Mag. Brit.*, tom. 2, p. 383—387.

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orthodox faith published in the council, celebrated at London in the year 1311.

"In the name of God, Amen. In the year of the incarnation of our Lord 1311, on the twenty-seventh day of the month of June, in the hall of the palace of the bishop of London, before the venerable fathers the Lord Robert by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and his suffragans in provincial council assembled, appeared Brother Stephen de Stapelbrugge, of the order of the chivalry of the Temple; and the denying of Christ and the blessed Virgin Mary his mother, the spitting upon the cross, and the heresies and errors acknowledged and confessed by him in his deposition, being displayed, the same Stephen asserted in full council, before the people of the City of London, introduced for the occasion, that all those things so deposed by him were true, and that to that confession he would wholly adhere; humbly confessing his error on his bended knees, with his hands clasped, with much lamentation and many tears, he again and again besought the mercy and pity of holy mother church, offering to abjure all heresies and errors, and praying them to impose on him a fitting penance, and then the book of the holy gospels being placed in his hands, he abjured the aforesaid heresies in this form:—

"I, brother Stephen de Stapelbrugge, of the order of the chivalry of the Temple, do solemnly confess," &c. &c. (he repeats his confession, makes his abjuration, and then proceeds;) "and if at any time hereafter I shall happen to relapse into the same errors, or deviate from any of the articles of the faith, I will account myself *ipso facto* excommunicated; I will stand condemned as a manifest perjured heretic, and the punishment inflicted on perjured relapsed

heretics, shall be forthwith imposed upon me without further trial or judgment!!" JAMES DE MOLAY. A.D. 1311.

He was then sworn upon the holy gospels to stand to the sentence of the church in the matter, after which Brother Thomas Tocci de Thoroldeby was brought forward to go through the same monstrous ceremony, which being concluded, these two poor serving brothers of the order of the Temple, who were so ignorant that they could not write, were made to place their mark (*loco subscriptionis*) on the record of their abjuration.

"And then our lord the archbishop of Canterbury, for the purpose of absolving and reconciling to the unity of the church the aforesaid Thomas and Stephen, conceded his authority and that of the whole council to the bishop of London, in the presence of me the notary, specially summoned for the occasion, in these words: 'We grant to you the authority of God, of the blessed Mary, of the blessed Thomas the Martyr our patron, and of all the saints of God (sanctorum atque *sanctarum* Dei) to us conceded, and also the authority of the present council to us transferred, to the end that thou mayest reconcile to the unity of the church these miserables, separated from her by their repudiation of the faith, and now brought back again to her bosom, reserving to ourselves and the council the right of imposing a fit penance for their transgressions!' And as there were two penitents, the bishop of Chichester was joined to the bishop of London for the purpose of pronouncing the absolution, which two bishops, putting on their mitres and pontificals, and being assisted by twelve priests in sacerdotal vestments, placed themselves in seats at the western entrance of the cathedral church of Saint Paul, and the penitents, with bended knees, humbly prostrating themselves in

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prayer upon the steps before the door of the church, the members of the council and the people of the city standing around; and the psalm, *Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness,* having been chaunted from the beginning to the end, and the subjoined prayers and sermon having been gone through, they absolved the said penitents, and received them back to the unity of the church in the following form :—

" In the name of God, Amen. Since by your confession we find that you, Brother Stephen de Stapelbrugge, have denied Christ Jesus and the blessed Virgin Mary, and have spat *beside* the cross, and now taking better advice wishest to return to the unity of the holy church with a true heart and sincere faith, as you assert, and all heretical depravity having for that purpose been previously abjured by you according to the form of the church, we, by the authority of the council, absolve you from the bond of excommunication wherewith you were held fast, and we reconcile you to the unity of the church, if you shall have returned to her in sincerity of heart, and shall have obeyed her injunctions imposed upon you."

Brother Thomas Tocci de Thoroldeby was then absolved and reconciled to the church in the same manner, after which various psalms (Gloria Patri, Kyrie Eleyson, Christe Eleyson, &c. &c.) were sung, and prayers were offered up, and then the ceremony was concluded.*

On the 1st of July, an avowal of guilt was wrung by the inquisitors from Brother John de Stoke, chaplain of the order, who, being brought before the bishops of London and Chichester in St. Martin's church, deposed that he was received in the mode mentioned by him

* *Concil. Mag. Brit.*, tom. 2, p. 383, 389.

on his first examination; but a year and fifteen days after that reception, being at the preceptory of Garwy in the diocese of Hereford, he was called into the chamber of Brother James de Molay, the Grand Master of the order, who, in the presence of two other Templars of foreign extraction, informed him that he wished to make proof of his obedience, and commanded him to take a seat at the foot of the bed, and the deponent did so. The Grand Master then sent into the church for the crucifix, and two serving brothers, with naked swords in their hands, stationed themselves on either side of the doorway. As soon as the crucifix made its appearance, the Grand Master, pointing to the figure of our Saviour nailed thereon, asked the deponent whose image it was, and he answered, "The image of Jesus Christ, who suffered on the cross for the redemption of mankind;" but the Grand Master exclaimed, "Thou sayest wrong, and art much mistakened, for he was the son of a certain woman, and was crucified because he called himself the Son of God, and I myself have been in the place where he was born and crucified, and thou must now deny him whom this image represents." The deponent exclaimed, "Far be it from me to deny my Saviour;" but the Grand Master told him he must do it, or he would be put into a sack and be carried to a place which he would find by no means agreeable, and there were swords in the room, and brothers ready to use them, &c. &c.; and the deponent asked if such was the custom of the order, and if all the brethren did the same; and being answered in the affirmative, he, through fear of immediate death, denied Christ with his *tongue*, but not with his *heart*. Being asked in whom he was told to put his faith after he had

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denied Christ Jesus, he replies, "In that great Omnipotent God who created the heaven and the earth."*

Such, in substance, was the whole of the criminatory evidence that could be wrung by torture, by a long imprisonment, and by hardships of every kind, from the Templars in England. It amounts simply to an assertion that they compelled all whom they received into their order to renounce the christian religion, a thing perfectly incredible. Is it to be supposed that the many good Christians of high birth, and honour, and exalted piety, who entered into the order of the Temple, taking the cross for their standard and their guide, would thus suddenly have cast their faith and their religion to the winds? Would they not rather have denounced the impiety and iniquity to the officers of the Inquisition, and to the pope, the superior of the order?

"Ainsi que la vertu, le crime a ses degrés
Et jamais on n'a vu la timide innocence
Passer subitement à l'extreme licence.
Un seul jour ne fait point d'un mortel vertueux
Un perfide apostat, un traitre audacieux."

*Phedre*, Acte iv. Scene 2.

On Saturday, the 3rd of July, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops, the clergy, and the people of the city of London, were again assembled around the western door of St. Paul's cathedral;

* Acta fuerunt hæc die et loco prædictis, præsentibus patribus antedictis, et venerandæ discretionis viris magistris Michaele de Berchams cancellario domini archiepiscopi Cantuar. . . . . et me Ranulpho de Waltham, London, episcoporum notariis publicis.—*Acta contra Templarios. Concil. Mag. Brit.*, tom. 2, p. 387, 388.

and Brother John de Stoke, chaplain of the order of the Temple, made his public recantation of the heresies confessed by him, and was then absolved and reconciled to the church in the same manner as Brother Thomas de Stapelbrugge and Tocci de Thoroldeby, after which a last effort was made to bend the remaining Templars to the wishes of the papal inquisitors. JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1311.

On Monday, July 5th, at the request of the ecclesiastical council, the bishop of Chichester had an interview with Sir William de la More, the Master of the Temple, taking with him certain learned lawyers, theologians, and scriveners. He exhorted and earnestly pressed him to abjure the heresies of which he stood convicted, by his own confessions and those of his brethren, respecting the absolutions pronounced by him in the chapters, and submit himself to the disposition of the church; but the Master declared that he had never been guilty of the heresies mentioned, and that he would not abjure crimes which he had never committed; so he was sent back to his dungeon.

The next day, (Tuesday, July the 6th,) the bishops of London, Winchester, and Chichester, had an interview in Southwark with the Knight Templar Philip de Mews, Preceptor of Garwy, and some serving brethren of the New Temple at London, and told them that they were manifestly guilty of heresy, as appeared from the pope's bulls, and the depositions taken against the order both in England and France, and also from their own confessions regarding the absolutions pronounced in their chapters, explaining to them that they had grievously erred in believing that the Master of the Temple, who was a mere layman, had power to absolve them from their sins by pronouncing an absolution in

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the mode previously described, and they warned them that if they persisted in that error they would be condemned as heretics, and that, as they could not clear themselves therefrom, it behoved them to abjure all the heresies of which they were accused. The Templars replied that they were ready to abjure the error they had fallen into respecting the absolution, and *all heresies of every kind*, before the archbishop of Canterbury and the prelates of the council, whenever they should be required so to do, and they humbly and reverently submitted themselves to the orders of the church, beseeching pardon and and grace.

A sort of compromise was then made with most of the Templars in custody in London. They were required publicly to repeat a form of confession and abjuration drawn up by the bishops of London and Chichester, and were then solemnly absolved and reconciled to the church in the following terms :—

"In the name of God, Amen. Since you have confessed in due form before the ecclesiastical council of the province of Canterbury that you have gravely erred concerning the sacrament of repentance, in believing that the absolution pronounced by the Master in chapter had as much efficacy as is implied in the words pronounced by him, that is to say, 'the sins which you have omitted to confess through shamefacedness, or through fear of the justice of the order, we, by virtue of the power delegated to us by God and our lord the pope, forgive you, as far as we are able;' and since you have confessed that you cannot entirely purge yourselves from the heresies set forth under the apostolic bull, and taking sage counsel with a good heart and unfeigned faith, have submitted yourselves to the judgment and the mercy

of the church, having previously abjured the aforesaid heresies, and all heresies of every description, we, by the authority of the council, absolve you from the chain of excommunication wherewith you have been bound, and reconcile you once more to the unity of the church, &c. &c. JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1311.

On the 9th of July, Brother Michael de Baskevile, knight, Preceptor of London, and seventeen other Templars, were absolved and reconciled in full council, in the Episcopal Hall of the see of London, in the presence of a vast concourse of the citizens.

On the 10th of the same month, the Preceptors of Dokesworth, Getinges, and Samford, the guardian of the Temple church at London, Brother Radulph de Evesham, chaplain, with other priests, knights, and serving brethren of the order, were absolved by the bishops of London, Exeter, Winchester, and Chichester, in the presence of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the whole ecclesiastical council.

The next day many more members of the fraternity were publicly reconciled to the church on the steps before the south door of Saint Paul's cathedral, and were afterwards present at the celebration of high mass in the interior of the sacred edifice, when they advanced in a body towards the high altar bathed in tears, and falling down on their knees, they devoutly kissed the sacred emblems of Christianity.

The day after, (July 12,) nineteen other Templars were publicly absolved and reconciled to the church at the same place, in the presence of the earls of Leicester, Pembroke, and Warwick, and afterwards assisted in like manner at the celebration of high mass. The priests of the order made their confessions and abjurations

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in Latin; the knights pronounced them in Norman French, and the serving brethren for the most part repeated them in English.* The vast concourse of people collected together could have comprehended but very little of what was uttered, whilst the appearance of the penitent brethren, and the public spectacle of their recantation, answered the views of the papal inquisitors, and doubtless impressed the commonalty with a conviction of the guilt of the order. Many of the Templars were too *sick* (suffering doubtless from the effect of torture) to be brought down to Saint Paul's, and were therefore absolved and reconciled to the church by the bishops of London, Winchester, and Chichester, at Saint Mary's chapel near the Tower.

Among the prisoners absolved at the above chapel were many old veteran warriors in the last stage of decrepitude and decay. "They were so old and so infirm," says the public notary who recorded the proceedings, "that they were unable to stand;" their confessions were consequently made before two masters in theology; they were then led before the west door of the chapel, and were publicly reconciled to the church by the bishop of Chichester; after which they were brought into the sacred building, and were placed on their knees before the high altar, which they devoutly kissed, whilst the tears trickled down their furrowed cheeks. All these penitent Templars were now released from prison, and directed to do penance in different monasteries. Precisely the same form of proceeding was followed at York; the reconciliation and absolution being there carried into effect before the south door of the cathedral.†

* *Concil. Mag. Brit.* tom. 2, p. 390, 391.

† Ibid. p. 394—401.

Thus terminated the proceedings against the order of the Temple in England. JAMES DE MOLAY. A. D. 1311.

Similar measures had, in the mean time, been prosecuted against the Templars in all parts of Christendom. On the 18th of March, the pope wrote to the kings of Castile, Leon, Aragon, and Portugal, complaining of the omission to torture the Templars in their dominions. "The bishops and delegates," says the holy pontiff, "have imprudently neglected these means of obtaining the truth; we therefore expressly order them to employ torture against the knights, that the truth may be more readily and completely obtained."* The order for torturing the Templars was transmitted to the patriarch of Constantinople, the bishop of Negropont, and the duke of Achaia; it crossed the seas to the king of Cyprus, and the bishops of Famagousta and Nicosia, and nothing was wanting to complete the glory of the Templars, and make perfect their reward, but the application to them of the torture in the holy plains of Palestine which they had so often moistened with their blood, and in sight of that holy sepulchre which they had ever defended with such constancy, courage, and devotion, from the attacks of the infidels.

The councils of Tarragona and Aragon, after applying the torture, pronounced the order free from heresy. In Portugal and in Germany the Templars were declared innocent; and in no place situate beyond the sphere of the influence of the king of France and his creature the pope was a single Templar condemned to death.†

* Registr. epis. Clement V.

† Concilia Hispaniæ, tom. 5, p. 223. *Zurita*, lib. v. c. 73, 101. *Mariana*, lib. xv. cap. 10. Mutius. chron. lib. xxii. p. 211. *Raynouard*, p. 199—204.

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On the 16th of October the general council of the church, which had been convened by the pope to pronounce the abolition of the order, assembled at Vienne, near Lyons in France. It was opened by the holy pontiff in person, who caused the different confessions and avowals of the Templars to be read over before the assembled nobles and prelates. Although the order was now broken up, and the best and bravest of its members had either perished in the flames or were languishing in dungeons, yet nine fugitive Templars had the courage to present themselves before the council, and demand to be heard in defence of their order, declaring that they were the representatives of from 1,500 to 2,000 Templars, who were wandering about as fugitives and outlaws in the neighbourhood of Lyons. Monsieur Raynouard has fortunately brought to light a letter from the pope to king Philip which states this fact, and also informs us how the holy pontiff acted when he heard that these defenders of the order had presented themselves. Clement caused them to be thrown into prison, where they languished and died. He affected to believe that his life was in danger from the number of the Templars at large, and he immediately took measures to provide for the security of his person.*

The assembled fathers, to their honour, expressed their disapprobation of this flagrant act of injustice, and the entire council,

* Assuerunt mille quingentos vel duo millia fratres ejusdem ordinis qui Lugduni et in circumvicinis partibus morabantur, eis circa defensionem ipsius ordinis adhærere; nos tamen, ipsos se sponte offerentes, *detineri mandavimus et facimus detineri.* Et ex tunc, circa nostræ personæ custodiam, solertiorem diligentiam solito duximus adhibendam. . . ." *Raynouard*, p. 177, 178, ed. 18[illegible].

with the exception of an Italian prelate, nephew of the pope, and the three French bishops of Rheims, Sens, and Rouen, all creatures of Philip, who had severally condemned large bodies of Templars to be burnt at the stake in their respective dioceses, were unanimously of opinion, that before the suppression of so celebrated and illustrious an order, which had rendered such great and signal services to the christian faith, the members belonging to it ought to be heard in their own defence.* Such a proceeding, however, did not suit the views of the pope and king Philip, and the assembly was abruptly dismissed by the holy pontiff, who declared that since they were unwilling to adopt the necessary measures, he himself, out of the plenitude of the papal authority, would supply every defect. Accordingly, at the commencement of the following year, the pope summoned a private consistory; and several cardinals and French bishops having been gained over, the holy pontiff abolished the order by an apostolical ordinance, perpetually prohibiting every one from thenceforth entering into it, or accepting or wearing the habit thereof, or representing themselves to be Templars, on pain of excommunication.†

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On the 3rd of April, the second session of the council was opened by the pope at Vienne. King Philip and his three sons were present, accompanied by a large body of troops, and the papal

* Ut det Templariis audientiam sive defensionem. In hac sententiâ concordant omnes prælati Italiæ præter unum, Hispaniæ, Theutoniæ, Daniæ, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, etc. etc., ex secund. vit. Clem. V. p. 43.—*Rainald* ad ann. 1311, n. 55. *Walsingham*, p. 99. *Antiq. Britann.* p. 210.

† *Muratorii* collect. tom. 3, p. 448; tom. 10, col. 377. *Mariana*, tom. 3, p. 157. *Raynouard*, p. 191, 192.

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decree abolishing the order was published before the assembly.* The members of the council appear to have been called together merely to hear the decree read. History does not inform us of any discussion with reference to it, nor of any suffrages having been taken.

A few months after the close of these proceedings, Brother William de la More, the Master of the Temple in England, died of a broken heart in his solitary dungeon in the Tower, persisting with his last breath in the maintenance of the innocence of his order. King Edward, in pity for his misfortunes, directed the constable of the Tower to hand over his goods and chattels, valued at the sum of 4*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.*, to his executors, to be employed in the liquidation of his debts, and he commanded Geoffrey de la Lee, guardian of the lands of the Templars, to pay the arrears of his prison pay (2*s.* per diem) to the executor, Roger Hunsingon.†

Among the Cotton MS. is a list of the Masters of the Temple, otherwise the Grand Priors or Grand Preceptors of England, compiled under the direction of the prior of the Hospital of Saint John at Clerkenwell, to the intent that the brethren of that fraternity might remember the ancient Masters of the Temple in their prayers.‡ A few names have been omitted which are supplied in the following list:—

* *Raynouard* ut supra. Tertia vita Clem. V.

† Pro executoribus testamenti Wilielmi de la More, quondam Magistri militiæ Templi in Anglia, claus 6. E. 2. m. 15. Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 380.

§ Registr. Hosp. S. Joh. Jerus. *Cotton* MS. Nero E. VI. 23 i. Nero E. VI. p. 60, fol. 466.

Magister R. de Pointon.[1]

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Rocelinus de Fossa.[2]

Richard de Hastings,[3] A. D. 1160.

Richard Mallebeench.[4]

Geoffrey, son of Stephen,[5] A. D. 1180.

Thomas Berard, A. D. 1200.

Amaric de St. Maur,[6] A. D. 1203.

Alan Marcel,[7] A. D. 1224.

Amberaldus, A. D. 1229.

Robert Mountforde,[8] A. D. 1234.

Robert Sanford,[9] A. D. 1241.

Amadeus de Morestello, A. D. 1254.

Himbert Peraut,[10] A. D. 1270.

Robert Turvile,[11] A. D. 1290.

Guido de Foresta,[12] A. D. 1292.

James de Molay, A. D. 1293.

Brian le Jay,[13] A. D. 1295.

WILLIAM DE LA MORE THE MARTYR.

1 *Lansdown* MS. 207. E. vol. v. fol. 317. 2 Ib. fol. 284.

3 Ib. fol. 162, 163, 317. 4 Ib. fol. 467. 5 Ib. fol. 201.

6 Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 1. p. 134, ad ann. 1203. He was one of those who advised king John to sign Magna Charta.—*Matt. Par.* p. 253—255.

7 Ib. p. 258, 270. *Matt. Par.* p. 314.

8 Acta *Rymeri*, tom 1, p. 342, 344, 345. He was employed to negotiate a marriage between king Henry the Third and the fair Eleanor of Provence.

9 *Matt. Par.* p. 615, et in additamentis, p. 490.

10 *Concil. Mag. Brit.* tom. 2, p. 349. 11 Ib. p. 339, 341, 344.

12 Ib. p. 335, 343. *Prynne*, collect. 3, 143.

13 Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 4. part 3, p. 104.

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The only other Templar in England whose fate merits particular attention is Brother Himbert Blanke, the Grand Preceptor of Auvergne. He appears to have been a knight of high honour and of stern unbending pride. From first to last he had boldy protested against the violent proceedings of the inquisitors, and had fearlessly maintained, amid all trials, his own innocence and that of his order. This illustrious Templar had fought under four successive Grand Masters in defence of the christian faith in Palestine, and, after the fall of Acre, had led in person several daring expeditions against the infidels. For these meritorious services he was rewarded in the following manner:—After having been tortured and half-starved in the English prisons for the space of five years, he was condemned, as he would make no confession of guilt, to be shut up in a loathsome dungeon, to be loaded with double chains, and to be occasionally visited by the agents of the Inquisition, to see if he would confess *nothing further*.* In this miserable situation he remained until death at last put an end to his sufferings.

James de Molay, the Grand Master of the Temple, Guy, the Grand Preceptor, a nobleman of illustrious birth, brother to the prince of Dauphiny, Hugh de Peralt, the Visitor-general of the order, and the Grand Preceptor of Aquitaine, had now languished in the prisons of France for the space of five years and a half. The Grand Master had been compelled to make a confession which he afterwards disowned and stigmatized as a forgery,

* In vilissimo carcere, ferro duplici constrictus, jussus est recludi, et ibidem, donec aliud ordinatum extiterit, reservari; et interim visitari, ad videndum si vellet *alterius aliquod confiteri!*—*Concil. Maj. Brit.* tom. 2, p. 393.

swearing that if the cardinals who had subscribed it had been of a different cloth, he would have proclaimed them liars, and would have challenged them to mortal combat.* The other knights had also made confessions which they had subsequently revoked. The secrets of the dark prisons of these illustrious Templars have never been brought to light, but on the 18th of March, A. D. 1313, a public scaffold was erected before the cathedral church of Notre Dame, at Paris, and the citizens were summoned to hear the order of the Temple convicted by the mouths of its chief officers, of the sins and iniquities charged against it. The four knights, loaded with chains and surrounded by guards, were then brought upon the scaffold by the provost, and the bishop of Alba read their confessions aloud in the presence of the assembled populace. The papal legate then, turning towards the Grand Master and his companions, called upon them to renew, in the hearing of the people, the avowals which they had previously made of the guilt of their order. Hugh de Peralt, the Visitor-general, and the Preceptor of the Temple of Aquitaine, signified their assent to whatever was demanded of them, but the Grand Master, raising his arms bound with chains towards heaven, and advancing to the edge of the scaffold, declared in a loud voice, that to say that which was untrue was a crime, both in the sight of God and man. "I do," said he, "confess my guilt, which consists in having, to my shame and dishonour, suffered myself, through the pain of torture and the fear of death, to give utterance to falsehoods, imputing scandalous sins and iniquities to an illustrious order, which hath nobly served the cause of Christianity. I

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* *Processus contra Templarios.* *Dupuy*, p. 128, 139. *Raynouard*, p. 60.

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disdain to seek a wretched and disgraceful existence by engrafting another lie upon the original falsehood." He was here interrupted by the provost and his officers, and Guy, the Grand Preceptor, having commenced with strong asseverations of his innocence, they were both hurried back to prison.

King Philip was no sooner informed of the result of this strange proceeding, than, upon the first impulse of his indignation, without consulting either pope, or bishop, or ecclesiastical council, he commanded the instant execution of both these gallant noblemen. The same day at dusk they were led out of their dungeons, and were burned to death in a slow and lingering manner upon small fires of charcoal which were kindled on the little island in the Seine, between the king's garden and the convent of Saint Augustine, close to the spot where now stands the equestrian statue of Henri IV.*

Thus perished the last Grand Master of the Temple.

The fate of the persecutors of the order is not unworthy of notice.

A year and one month after the above horrible execution, the pope was attacked by a dysentery, and speedily hurried to his grave. The dead body was transported to Carpentras, where the court of Rome then resided; it was placed at night in a church which caught fire, and the mortal remains of the holy pontiff were almost entirely consumed. His relations quarrelled over the immense treasures he left behind him, and a vast sum of money, which had been deposited

* *Villani*, lib. viii. cap. 92. Contin. Chron. de *Nangis*, ad ann. 1313. *Pap. Mass.* in Philip pulchr. lib. iii. p. 393. *Mariana* de reb. Hisp. lib. xv. cap. 10. *Dupuy*, ed. 1700, p. 71. Chron. *Corn. Zanfliet* apud *Martene*, tom. 5, col. 160. *Raynouard*, p. 209, 210.

for safety in a church at Lucca, was stolen by a daring band of German and Italian freebooters.

Before the close of the same year, king Philip died of a lingering disease which had baffled all the art of his medical attendants, and the condemned criminal, upon the strength of whose information the Templars were originally arrested, was hanged for fresh crimes. "History attests," says Monsieur Raynouard, "that all those who were foremost in the persecution of the Templars, came to an untimely and miserable death." The last days of Philip were embittered by misfortune; his nobles and clergy leagued against him to resist his exactions; the wives of his three sons were accused of adultery, and two of them were publicly convicted of that crime. The misfortunes of Edward the Second, king of England, and his horrible death in Berkeley Castle, are too well known to be further alluded to.

To save appearances, the pope had published a bull transferring the property, late belonging to the Templars, to the order of the Hospital of Saint John,* which had just then acquired additional renown and popularity in Europe, by the conquest from the infidels of the island of Rhodes. This bull, however, remained for a considerable period nearly a dead letter, and the Hospitallers never obtained a twentieth part of the ancient possessions of the Templars.

The kings of Castile, Aragon, and Portugal, created new military orders in their dominions, to which the estates of the late order of the Temple were transferred; and, annexing the Grand Masterships thereof to their own persons, by the title of Perpetual Administrators,

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 323, 4, 5, ad ann. 1312.

they succeeded in drawing to themselves an immense revenue.* The kings of Bohemia, Naples, and Sicily, retained possession of many of the houses and strongholds of the Templars in their dominions, and various religious orders of monks succeeded in installing themselves in the convents of the fraternity. The heirs of the donors of the property, moreover, claimed a title to it by escheat, and in most cases, where the Hospitallers obtained the lands and estates granted them by the pope, they had to pay large fines to adverse claimants to be put into peaceable possession.†

"The chief cause of the ruin of the Templars," justly remarks Fuller, "was their extraordinary wealth. As Naboth's vineyard was the chiefest ground of his blasphemy, and as in England Sir John Cornwall Lord Fanhope said merrily, not he, but his stately house at Ampthill, in Bedfordshire, was guilty of high treason, so certainly their wealth was the principal cause of their overthrow. . . . . We may believe that king Philip would never have taken away their lives if he might have taken their lands without putting them to death, but the mischief was, he could not get the honey unless he burnt the bees."‡

King Philip, the pope, and the European sovereigns, appear to have disposed of all the personalty of the Templars, the ornaments, jewels, and treasures of their churches and chapels, and during the period of five years, over which the proceedings against the order extended, they remained in the actual receipt of the vast rents and revenues of the fraternity. After the promulgation of the bull,

* *Zurita*, lib. v. c. 101. Institut. milit. Christi apud *Henriquez*, p. 534.

† Annales Minorum. Gall. Christ. nov. *Aventinus*, Annal. *De Vertot*, liv. iii.

‡ *Fuller's* Hist. Holy War, book 5, ch. iii.

assigning the property of the Templars to the Hospitallers, king Philip put forward a claim upon the land to the extent of two hundred thousand pounds for the expenses of the prosecution, and Louis Hutin, his son, required a further sum of sixty thousand pounds from the Hospitallers, before he would consent to surrender the estates into their hands."* "J'ignore," says Voltaire, "ce qui revint au pape, mais je vois evidemment que les frais des cardinaux, des inquisiteurs déléguès pour faire ce procès épouvantable monterent à des sommes immenses."† The holy pontiff, according to his own account, received only a *small portion* of the personalty of the order,‡ but others make him a large participator in the good things of the fraternity.§

On the imprisonment of the Templars in England, the Temple at London, and all the preceptories dependent upon it, with the manors, farms, houses, lands, and revenues of the order, were placed under the survey of the Court of Exchequer, and extents‖ were directed to be taken of the same, after which they were confided to the care of certain trustworthy persons, styled "Guardians of the lands of the Templars," who were to account for the rents and profits to the king's exchequer. The bishop of Lichfield and Coven-

* *Dupuy*, p. 179, 184.

† Essai sur les mœurs, &c., tom. 2, p. 242.

‡ Nec est etiam unde populus contra nos de prædâ bonorum Templariorum prædictorum valeat murmurare, cum de bonis ipsis, nihil ad nos unquam pervenit nisi modica bona mobilia. Epist. ad Philip. 2 non. May, 1309. *Raynouard*, p. 198. *De Vertot*, liv. iii.

§ *Raynouard*, 197, 198, 199.

‖ The extents of the lands of the Templars are amongst the unarranged records in the Queen's Remembrancer's office, and various sheriffs' accounts are in the third chest in the Pipe Office.

try had the custody of all the lands and tenements in the county of Hants. John de Wilburgham had those in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; and there were thirty-two other guardians entrusted with the care of the property in the remaining counties of England.* These guardians were directed to pay various pensions to the old servants and retainers of the Templars dwelling in the different preceptories,† also the expenses of the prosecution against the order; and they were at different times required to provide for the exigencies of the public service, and to victual the king's castles and strongholds. On the 12th of January, A. D. 1312, William de Slengesby, guardian of the manor of Ribbestayn in the county of York, was commanded to forward to the constable of the castle of Knaresburgh, a hundred quarters of corn, ten quarters of oats, twenty fat oxen, eighty sheep, and two strong carts, towards the victualling of the said fortress, and the king tells him that the same shall be duly deducted when he renders his account to the exchequer of the rents and profits of the said manor.‡ The king, indeed, began to dispose of the property as if it was wholly vested in the crown, and made munificent donations to his favourites and friends. In the month of February of the same year, he gave the manors of Etton and Cave to David, Earl of Athol, directing the guardians of the lands and tenements of the Templars in the county of York to hand over to the said earl all the corn in those manors, the oxen, calves, ploughs, and all the goods and chattels of the Templars existing therein,

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 130, 134, 139, 279, 288, 290, 1, 2, 297, 321. *Dodsworth*. MS. vol. xxxv. p. 65, 67.

† Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 292, 3, 4, 5.

‡ Ib. tom. 3, p. 299.

together with the ornaments and utensils of the chapel of the Temple.*

On the 16th of May, however, the pope addressed bulls to the king, and to all the earls and barons of the kingdom, setting forth the proceedings of the council of Vienne and the publication of the papal decree, vesting the property late belonging to the Templars in the brethren of the Hospital of St. John, and he commands them forthwith to place the members of that order in possession thereof. Bulls were also addressed to the archbishops of Canterbury and York and their suffragans, commanding them to enforce by ecclesiastical censures the execution of the papal commands.† King Edward and his nobles very properly resisted this decree, and on the 21st of August the king wrote to the Prior of the Hospital of St. John at Clerkenwell, telling him that the pretensions of the pope to dispose of property within the realm of England, without the consent of parliament, were derogatory to the dignity of the crown and the royal authority; and he commands him, under severe pains and penalties, to refrain from attempting to obtain any portion of the possessions of the Templars.‡ The king, indeed, continued to distribute the lands and rents amongst his friends and favourites. At the commencement of the year 1313, he granted the Temple at London, with the church and all the buildings therein, to Aymer de Valence earl of Pembroke; § and on the 5th of May of the same year he caused several merchants, from whom he had borrowed money, to be placed in possession of many of the manors of the Templars.‖

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 303.

† Ib., tom. 3, p. 326, 327.

‡ Ib., tom. 3, p. 337.

§ Cart. 6. E. 2. No. 4. 41.

‖ Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 409, 410.

Yielding, however, at last to the exhortations and menaces of the pope, the king, on the 21st of Nov. A. D. 1313, granted the property to the Hospitallers,* and sent orders to all the guardians of the lands of the Templars, and to various powerful barons who were in possession of the estates, commanding them to deliver them up to certain parties deputed by the Grand Master and chapter of the Hospital of Saint John to receive them.† At this period, however, many of the heirs of the donors, whose title had been recognised by the law, were in possession of the lands, and the judges held that the king had no power of his own sole authority to transfer them to the order of the Hospital.‡ The thunders of the Vatican were consequently vigorously made use of, and all the detainers of the property were doomed by the Roman pontiff to everlasting damnation.§ Pope John, in one of his bulls, dated A. D. 1322, bitterly complains of the disregard by all the king's subjects of the papal commands. He laments that they had hardened their hearts and despised the sentence of excommunication fulminated against them, and declares that his heart was riven with grief to find that even the ecclesiastics, who ought to have been as a wall of defence to the Hospitallers, had themselves been heinously guilty in the premises.‖

At last (A. D. 1324) the pope, the bishops, and the Hospitallers, by their united exertions, succeeded in obtaining an act

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 451.

† Ib. p. 451, 454, 455, 457, 459—463. *Dugd. Monast. Angl.*, vol. vi. part 2, p. 809.

‡ Rolls of Parliament, vol. 2, p. 41.

§ *Dugd. Monast. Angl.*, vol. 6, part ii. p. 849, 850. *Concil. Mag. Brit.*, tom. 2, p. 499.

‖ Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 956—959, ad ann. 1322.

of parliament, vesting all the property late belonging to the Templars in the brethren of the Hospital of Saint John, in order that the intentions of the donors might be carried into effect by the appropriation of it to the defence of the Holy Land and the succour of the christian cause in the East.* This statute gave rise to the greatest discontent. The heirs of the donors petitioned parliament for its repeal, alleging that it had been made against law, and against reason, and contrary to the opinion of the judges ;† and many of the great barons who held the property by a title recognised by the common law, successfully resisted the claims of the order of the Hospital, maintaining that the parliament had no right to interfere with the tenure of private property, and to dispose of their possessions without their consent.

This struggle between the heirs of the donors on the one hand, and the Hospitallers on the other, continued for a lengthened period; and in the reign of Edward the Third it was found necessary to pass another act of parliament, confirming the previous statute in their favour, and writs were sent to the sheriffs (A. D. 1334) commanding them to enforce the execution of the acts of the legislature, and to take possession, in the king's name, of all the property unjustly detained from the brethren of the Hospital.‡

Whilst the vast possessions, late belonging to the Templars, thus continued to be the subject of contention, the surviving brethren of that dissolved order continued to be treated with the

* *Statutes at Large*, vol. 9. Appendix, p. 23.

† *Rolls of Parliament*, vol. 2, p. 41, No. 52.

‡ *Monast. Angl.*, p. 810.

utmost inhumanity and neglect. The ecclesiastical council had assigned to each of them a pension of fourpence a day for subsistence, but this small pittance was not paid, and they were consequently in great danger of dying of hunger. The king, pitying their miserable situation, wrote to the prior of the hospital of St. John at Clerkenwell, earnestly requesting him to take their hard lot into his serious consideration, and not suffer them to come to beggary in the streets.* The archbishop of Canterbury also exerted himself in their behalf, and sent letters to the possessors of the property, reproving them for the non-payment of the allotted stipends. "This inhumanity," says he, "awakens our compassion, and penetrates us with the most lively grief. We pray and conjure you in kindness to furnish them, for the love of God and for charity, with the means of subsistence." † The archbishop of York caused many of them to be supported in the different monasteries of his diocese.‡

Many of the quondam Templars, however, after the dissolution of their order, assumed a secular habit; they blended themselves with the laity, mixed in the pleasures of the world, and even presumed to contract matrimony, proceedings which drew down upon them the severe indignation of the Roman pontiff. In a bull addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, the pope stigmatises these marriages as unlawful concubinages; he observes that the late Templars remained bound, notwithstanding the dissolution of their order, by their vows of perpetual chastity, and he orders them to be separated from the women whom they had married, and to be placed in different monasteries, where they are to dedicate them-

* Acta *Rymeri*, tom. 3, p. 472. † *Concil. Mag. Brit.*, tom 2. ‡ *Walsingham*, p. 99.

selves to the service of God, and the strict performance of their religious vows.*

The Templars adopted the oriental fashion of long beards, and during the proscription of the fraternity, when the fugitives who had thrown off their habits were hunted out like wild beasts, it appears to have been dangerous for laymen to possess beards of more than a few weeks' growth.

Papers and certificates were granted to men with long beards, to prevent them from being molested by the officers of justice as suspected Templars, as appears from the following curious certificate given by king Edward the Second to his valet, who had made a vow not to shave himself until he had performed a pilgrimage to some place beyond sea.

"Rex, etc. Cum dilectus valettus noster Petrus Anger, exhibitor præsentium, nuper voverit quod barbam suam radi non faciat, quousque peregrinationem fecerit in certo loco in partibus transmarinis; et idem Petrus sibi timeat, quod aliqui ipsum, ratione barbæ suæ prolixæ fuisse Templarium imponere sibi velint et ei inferre impedimenta seu gravamina ex hac causa; Nos veritati volentes testimonium pertulere, vobis tenore præsentium intimamus, quod prædictus Petrus est valettus cameræ nostræ, *nec unquam fuit Templarius, sed barbam suam sic prolixam esse permittit, ex causa superius annotata,* etc. Teste Rege, &c." †

* *Monast. Angl.*, vol. 6, part ii. p. 848.

† *Pat.* 4, E. 2, p. 2; m. 20. *Dugdale*, Hist. Warwickshire, vol. 1, p. 962, ed. 1730.

THE END.

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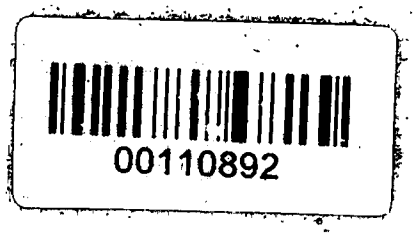
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